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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLI JANUARY 1957 NUMBER 1

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*
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in his village made restless by news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill.[4]

In company with five younger men from Port Gibson, he went to New York City in January, 1849, to take passage on the ship *Robert Bowne* for California. This old packet, built in 1832 at Stonington, Connecticut,[5] had been purchased by the Albany Chemical Mining Association to make the Cape Horn voyage under the command of Captain F. G. Cameron. As early as December 14, 1848, notices appeared in the New York papers[6] offering shares in the vessel and cargo. Advertised as a "newly coppered live oak ship" with "main deck converted into a splendid saloon," the *Bowne* would be equipped with two sets of sails, provisioned for two years, and carry a physician to attend the passengers. A cabin ticket with a share in the ship and stores was offered at $250, or passage only at $150. The announcement likewise appeared in the *Albany Argus*[7] where the Port Gibson Argonauts and other upstaters undoubtedly saw it.

Not until the end of January did there develop much demand for passage around the Horn, the Panama route being at first strongly favored. Departure of the *Bowne* was postponed three times while the advertisements of her promoters continued. She finally sailed February 6th with 168 passengers, two of them wives and four boys accompanying their fathers. The list of voyagers[8] included three doctors and noted that R. C. Drake of Brooklyn had brought along "his celebrated dog Sam." Over a third of the ship's company came from New York City, with twenty-two from Albany, eight from Niagara Falls, and a scattering from upstate counties, Connecticut and New Jersey.

From Port Gibson besides Isaac Annis the *Bowne* carried

[4] President James K. Polk officially confirmed the discovery of gold in a message to Congress December 5, 1848.

[5] Carl C. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea, The Story of the American Clipper Ship* (New York: 1930), p. 410, gives the tonnage of the *Bowne* as 505 and measurements 123 x 30.3 ft.

[6] *New York Herald*, December 14, 1848, to February 4, 1849.

[7] *Albany Argus*, January 4, 1849.

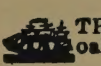
[8] *New York Sun*, February 8, *New York Tribune*, February 9, 1849. Annis's name is misspelled in both papers.

FOR CALIFORNIA.

THE BEST CHANCE!

FOR SAN FRANCISCO,

California and the Gold Regions.



THE SPLENDID, fast-sailing newly coppered live oak packet ship

ROBERT BOWNE,

Having been detained on account of not being able to get all the bread she requires (500 barrels) will positively sail on or before the first of February.

Her main deck has been fitted up with a saloon and state-rooms in the style of the North River, steamboats—she has a spacious cabin on deck, and is one of the most comfortable ships up for California. She takes two sets of sails, extra spars, 800 barrels of water, and has been put in complete condition for a voyage around Cape Horn. She is commanded by CAPTAIN F. G. CAMERON, one of the most experienced Captains out of this port.—Capt. Cameron was first in command of the United States frigate Macedonian, under Com. De Kay, on her late mission of mercy to Ireland. Capt. Baily, who has lately returned from the Pacific, goes out as her first officer. She takes out an able and experienced physician and surgeon. The following stores are now being put on board.

300	bbls of	Flour	50	bbls of	Rice	30	bags of Coffee
400	..	Beef	50	..	Beans	50	quintals Codfish
300	..	Pork	20	..	Sugar	20	kegs of Butter
500	..	Bread	10	..	Mackerel	10	boxes of Soap
100	..	Potat's	10	..	Onions	10	hhds Molasses
50	..	Meal	5	..	Vinegar	5	chests of Tea.

This amount of stores will be sufficient for the passengers 18 months after their arrival out. Each man's portion will be worth more to him on his arrival than the amount he has to pay for his share and passage. We invite all that desire to seek their fortunes in the Gold Region of California to call and inspect the accommodations of this ship previous to engaging elsewhere, as so rare an opportunity seldom offers to go in so safe and so substantially a built vessel.

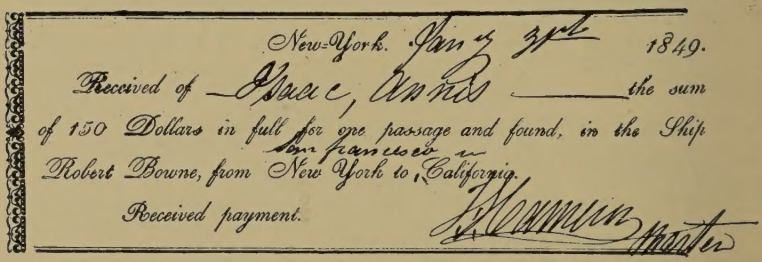
The ship and cargo will belong to the passengers, and each passenger will be entitled to four barrels of freight, besides his baggage. The ship will remain in port for a home and storehouse for the passengers, who can return in her free of charge, and sell his share of the ship upon her arrival or at San Francisco. She will go out in ballast trim, and is expected to make the passage in 4½ months, and unless the passengers desire will not stop on the voyage.

Price of passage and share of ship, cargo and provisions, $250 only. A few berths remain untaken. Those wishing to avail themselves of this opportunity should apply at once. A few first cabin passengers will be taken at $150 each, without share of vessel or cargo. No steerage or second cabin passengers go in this ship.

Apply to the Captain, on board, Pier 29 East River, at the foot of Roosevelt-st. j29 4tis*

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE PACKET SHIP "ROBERT BOWNE"

New York Tribune, January 31, 1849, p. 3, col. 7


New-York. Jan'y 31st 1849.

Received of Isaac, Annis the sum of 150 Dollars in full for one passage and found, in the Ship Robert Bowne, from New York to San Francisco in California.

Received payment.

Master

ISAAC ANNIS'S RECEIPT FOR PASSAGE AROUND THE HORN, 1849

The New-York Historical Society

G. E. Briggs, Daniel Earle, John R. Halliday, Jacob Saulpaugh and John Stacy. Another neighbor, Henry Corser, sailed later on the steamer *Hartford*. Annis wrote a farewell letter to his daughter Nancy from "New York Cittey" January 28th:

We shall sail next Thursday in the ship Robbart Downe [Robert Bowne] for California by way of the Horn. The stemer Cresent Cittey has just returned from Chargres and sais there is so many people wating there now that it will be 2 month before tha [they] can git a pasag.[9] Our Capt name is Camron and is just as old a man as I be. We pay him $150 dollars for pasag and bord and we carry 4 baril fruit. We carry provision to last 4 month. With us we bought a boat and gave $60 dollars for it and we bought a tent for $24 dollars and we are goin to carray a sett of black smith tools and other youtenesel tu numers to menchen. I wish you could see the rush that there is here. There was 3 ships went out yesterday for California and to see the people on the dock men and women in soled mass all for California. Nothing here but California. Our ship is 10 hundred tuns burden and carres out 2 hundred passengers all Amaracans.

His next letter home arrived sooner perhaps than was expected:

I am now in Rio de Janeiro in South Amaraca April 8, 1849 and I must tell you that it is the hansomist place that I ever saw.[10] It is hemed in by mountin of rocks on all sides, verey high peakes, sum of them is 12 hundred feet high covered with grass and shrubbery and orchard of orang and lemons and benanners and all kind of tropical fruit. Today is Sunday.

[9] *New York Herald*, January 28, 1849, reported arrival of the *Crescent City* with the headline: "Hosts of Yankees Stuck at Chagres."

[10] Rio de Janeiro was a usual first stop for round-the-Horn ships. Oscar Lewis, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields* (New York: 1949), p. 79; Raymond A. Rydell, *Cape Horn to the Pacific* (Berkeley: 1952), p. 121.

We are ancred of[f] 3 miles from shore and I shall go on shore tomorrow. I want to by sum article that I did not get in N. York. You can by one thousand oring for 1. dollar here. . . . My health is good, better then it has bin for one year past. I hant bin unwell but 2 days sins we left N. York. Wee bin out about 3 weekes I head [had] two fites of the agu and that is all. Wee have bin 59 days from N. York and only got 7 thousand miles but wee have saled all of twelve thousand. Wee have had calm and contra winds more than half of the way. We have cros[s]ed the Atlantick Ocen twise. Wee head to go East within 2 days sail of England, then steered South to South Amarica.

We left N. York February 6 on Tuesday and Wensday we got into the Streem Gulf and we cros[s]ed the Gulf in 24 hours and the gail com on in the Gulf and continued for 7 day so that we got nothing to eat all that time except some see crackers and that head to eat by holding on by ropes. It carred away the foremast sails, slit them all into strings. The bow of the ship when she ris out of the see she would go up into air 60 feet. She would rowl so that her yard armes would strike the water. But that is all the ruff weather we have head now I must tell you a little more about see sickness. It did not effect me at all but J. Haladay and Stacey and Briggs three sicker people you never see. Briggs got over his when the gail was over but Haladay was sick all of one month and Stacey about 3 weekes.

Munday. I have bin on shore and bin up on the mountin and picked orings from the trees 4 hundred feet from the cittey and it is the buttifull site that I ever saw in my life. The banannar tree is the hansomis tree that ever grew. . . . The people are a degraded sett of people. Som white and mostley black all mingle together. I cant understand one word that tha say; tha dont [k]now anything about our money and it hard to trade with them. Wee shall sail tomorrow to go round the Horn. It is 33 degrees from here South. Rio lais in 22½ degrees South from the Equator. The clamit is good and if I was yong I should not go back to North Amarica again but I am going on to Calafornia and I think that I shant git back to Port Gibson under two years.

In a letter dated August 31, 1849, Annis announced his safe arrival in California:

Thank God I am here in San Francisco after six months and 22 days from N. York.[11] We arrived in the harbor the 27 day of August 6 oclock

[11] *Weekly Alta California*, August 31, 1849, reported arrival at San Francisco August 29 of "Am sp Robert Bowne, Cameron, 203 dys frm N. York, cargo to order, 163 psgrs." About the same date there arrived from New York the ship *George Washington*, 202 days out, and the clipper *Memnon*, 123 days net. The last was the fastest Cape Horn run from New York that year. Cutler, *supra*, note 5, p. 144.

and today I am on shore in the tent riting on a barrel and sitting on a velese. . . . I must tell you about my health. It was never better than it is now. I hant been sick at all. I am 20 lb. heavier than when I started from home.

We struck our course South for the Horn and nothing happened untill wee got in Lt. 44 of [f] against the LaPlate River and then came on a gail and lasted 8 days and I will let you know how wee put the ship in plight. Wee furell all the sales up to the spares snug and the passengers go down in the cabin. The main hatch is nailed down and the tiller is roped tight, no man to the wheel and let the ship go and she drift. She drifted 6 hundred miles and when it was over wee spread sales and git on our track and we were all the month of May. The last of May we git to 58 degrees Lt. The Horn lais in 56 Lt. and I can tell you that wee head a cold time of it. Sum of us frosed our twoes, me for one so tha skined. The last day of May wee stud calm and we stud but one chance out of 4 [not] to be blowed back but providence favored us and wind struck us on our stern. We went on and when wee got down to 40 degrees there come on another gail that lasted 11 days. The 10 day of June was a hard day. Wee could see the waves coming up through the rigging but the old ship mounted them and being short of water we put in to Calio in Peru.[12]

I went to the Cittey of Lima 8 miles distant in the stage drove by six horses. One little thing I will mention which will make you laugh. I was the onley white man in the stage and when the stage stoped I got out and thare was a wa[i]ter to wait on me and he went onto me with his brushes like a man brushing a horse, for I must tell you the rodes are verrey dusty for it never rains here. So I paid him one rial that is one shilling. Then he conducted me up 1 pare of staires and thare was another blackey and he went onto my boots, one rial more. Then there was another one stud ready and he showed me the little house and he must have one more rial. So you see that it took 3 rial to git to the little house, that is the custom of the place.

I will talk a little on the feemails here. Tha are collared people but tha are better made than our Amarcan is, verrey small hand and feet. I was interduced to one Spanish ladey that her dress did not [cost] less than 15 hundred dollars, satting silk, and her dimand rings were verrey costley. I was the only man that she wood talk with and that was through interpreter. She was verrey rich; she was from Chile. The rest I will tell you when I come home.

So I went on bored of the ship Saterday night and wee waided ancher 5 oclock Sunday morning under a good breese for this port. 6 thousand miles to make. Wee ran West to 115 degrees Longitude that was halfway and wee run it in 15 dayes and we have bin all the rest of the time gitting

[12] Callao, Peru, alternated with Talcahuano or Valparaiso, Chile, as a Pacific stop for the Cape Horn Argonauts. Lewis, *supra*, note 10, pp. 144, 154.

here. Wee head head winds all the way. Wee maid it by beating. So I must tell you about this place. It is boult in the form of an ampither, hills on both sides and a valley runs up between them. But I must tell you that it is a barin sanday place, no wood and no trees.

I seen more money here than in all the places in my life. . . . Thare is a grate maney here that has com back from the digging with thare gold and I was in the exchange office and I see them waighing. There was two men thare to git thare gold change. One head one bunch in a paper and tha waighed it. He had 15 hundred dollars and the other man head more and tha paid them in Mexican dollars. Tha dont carry thare money in purse but tha put it in a bag and sholdred it and head about half bushel. Tha are exchanging all the time. Now I will [tell] you about the gamb[l]ers. I went in to the rooms and the tables are spread with silver and gould by thousand not by hundred. Tha think nothing putting down 1000 dollars at time.

Carptner git 16 dollars per day, common hand from 5 to 10 dollars per day and things is verry deer here all except clothing is as cheap as in the Cittey of N. York. Beef at the markett 18 cents per lb. a loaf of bread of your loaves is 25 cents and flour is from 6 to 8 dollars per bbl. I cant tell you all but money is plenty here. Tha pay any price that tha ask them. A boy went out and shot 50 snipes and brought them in and sold them for 1 dollar a peace and he made 50 dollars in one day. Now I must tell you that the cittey is so full of goods that tha have no where to put them and the street is full. Piles of them 10,000 dollars lais in piles in the street and I must tell you that the people verrey onest here. No steeling. You may leve trunk and bagig on the shore tha are saft.

The hardiest is to come. Wee have got to go up the Sacramento River 150 miles; that wee can go by water by paing for it. Tha ask 16 dollars for 1 pasanger and your freat you must pay for besides. After wee git up thare wee have got to carry on our back or pay 30 cents per lb. That is on mules or horses and wee have got to traveil over high hills and mountin. But tha say that wee can dig from 1 to 6 and 8 ounces per day. It go here 16 dollars per ounce. Wee thought that wee should be too late but it is so hot up there tha cant dig now. Thare is more than 1000 people here waiting for it be colder. Tha say September and October and November is the best months. Now I must tell you butter is worth 75 cents pertatos 1 dollar per lb. Tha sell them by the pound. You can git bordied for 12 dollars per week at the loist houses . . . . Hank has not got here yet. I went to the post office the next day of wee got in at 9 oclock in morning and I could not git your letter till 1 in the afternoon. Thare was more than 5 hundred people wa[i]ting for letters. I will tell you that the harber is full of ships and tha are coming in two or three every day and thare is thousand on the sea.

The letter from his daughter mentioned by Annis was writ-

THE POST OFFICE, SAN FRANCISCO, IN GOLD RUSH DAYS

A faithful representation of the crowds daily applying at that office for mail

Drawn by H. F. Cox; litho. by Wm. Endicott & Co., New York, 1849–52

ten June 6th, after receipt of his message from Rio. She reported the local news of Port Gibson, going on to say:

We are all glad you went by the way of Cape Horn as the overland route is sickly. A great many who started to go that way are dead. The cholera, that dreadfull scourge of mankind is raging here in our cities to a fearfull extent. Henry H. Treat of Palmyra died of cholera on board a steamboat on the Rio Grand River in Mexico on his way to California. Gen Worth and Dan Marble have both died of it. Sixty new cases reported this morning in New York, ten deaths. Great fears are entertained here that it will git among the miners in California and sweep them off like rotten sheep. If you should be taken with it take three table spoonsfull of the best French brandy and forty drops of laudanum, mix it well and drink it. Rub your body with brandy and hot flannel cloth, if you are not better in one hour take a tablespoonful of castor oil, one of brandy, ten drops of laudanum. It will throw you into a sound sleep. You will wake well. This is practised in India with success.

There has been a great riot at the Astor Place theatre in New York. It

was got up between the two great rival actors Deforest and Macready. The mob were determined to drive Macready off the stage and out of the city. The authorities called out thirteen military companies to subdue the mob. The order was given to fire and 27 men were killed. Macready left for Boston in a few hours.[13] On the evening of the 17 of May the steamboat Empire left New York for Troy with 250 passengers on board. When opposite Newburgh a schooner loaded with lumber struck her and stove a hole in her and it sank in about ten minutes. It is not ascertained how many lives were lost. They have found 20 bodies. The steamship Rip Van Winkle was a short distance behind. She came up and took of[f] many of the passengers. We have got the little gold dollars here at last. At the mint they were made at the rate of 108 per minute.

The propeller Hartford that Hank Corser went abord of was wrecked of[f] the Bermuda Island. She was however taken in to port and repaired then went on, Hank among them. He is second mate gets $100 per month. Sixteen of those passengers came back to N. Y. Here is another cure for cholera. As soon as you have any diharrea take one teaspoonfull of sulphur in molasses. In about 2 hours take another teaspoonfull. It will cure if taken in season even after cramps set in.

Her husband added a postscript about business affairs at home:

Money is very scarce and times hard here. Business on the canal dull, freight low 45 to 50¢ per bbl. being all boatmen can get from Buffalo to Albany per bbl. for flour and other frt. in proportion. Wheat is worth 9/ corn 55¢ oats 27¢ potatoes 4/ per bushel. We done well in the corn we bought on our own a/c but we are buying on commission for Mr. Blackmar. We have taken in over 10,000 bushels and a number 1000 bbls flour. Crops look well here now.

Annis wrote briefly to Nancy October 24, 1849, from Sacramento where he had just returned after a visit to the mines:

As for the gold diggins I shall work no more this season. I am not going to kill myself for gold. I cant make but about 8 dollars per day. It is 45 miles from here and I have come down to git me a sett of tooles and I am going to work at my trade. I have got a team with me. Wee bought a team for we have to pay 16 dollars per hundred to git it carried up .... It is a verry hard contray, dry, sandy, barran, broken hilly, scrub oak, no timber. Tha rais nothing, no vedgtable at all. If you buy any pertaters

[13] Trouble began May 8th when the partisans of Forrest, an American actor, interrupted the performance of Macready, an Englishman. Each was playing Macbeth at a different theater. Two nights later when Macready sought to appear again, the mob stoned the troops that had been called to Astor Place, and were finally fired on. J. T. Headley, *The Great Riots of New York* (New York: 1873), p. 111; Bayard Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone* (New York: 1889), Vol. II, p. 359.

you have to pay 75 dollars a bushel, that is ten shillings per lb. Butter 3 dollars per lb, chease 1 dollar, eggs 12 dollars per duzzon.

If you want to right to me dyrect your letters to San Francisco and wee git them from thare. It cost us 2 dollars but that is nothing here . . . . I send my best respect to all the children and Alice. Tell her that the first peace of gold that I dug was a $3.00 dollar peace and I am going to keep it to make her ring. I forgot to right that wee sa[i]led clous by Roberson Cruson Island. I must tell you that the clamit is verry hot. The 11 day of September the thermomater stud at 136 degrees in this citty and verry warm days and cold night.

His most complete account of conditions in the Mother Lode country bore date of January 16, 1850, from "Upper Californey at the Dry Diggins at the villedg of Auburn[14] near the North Fork" [American River]:

Now Nancy I shall right to you just as I should talk to you if I was with you. You wanted to have me right to you all about the gold diggins. That would be imposable but I will give you som discription of them. Thay have been verrey much exagrated. The whole tract of the mountanios land is inpregnated with gold but it is verrey hard to be got. It requeres a grate deal of hard laber to git it in the dry diggins. Wee can dig and find lumps of gold from one dollar up to five hundred. That is the biggest lump that has bin found sins I have ben here. I did not see that but it is here in the placer. I see one that was worth $300 dollars but that is slow work for tha are not offten found. Then thare is fine gold in the durt that tha dig out with pick and shovel and wash it in a cradle. It runs threw a sheet iron seive into a straner and then down to the bottom of the cradle and thare the gold stopes. The durt all runs out at the foot of the cradle. Then the gold is taken out and put into a pan and was[h]ed to git out the black sand for the gold will keep to the bottom.

Now I will give you som discription of the weat diggins as tha are called. That is on the river. The river is two miles from here and I will tell you what a place it is to git to. You would think that I could never

[14] This camp, first known as Rich Dry Diggings, then North Fork Dry Diggings, was named Auburn in the fall of 1849. Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names* (Berkeley: 1949), p. 18. That winter Auburn became a rendezvous for upstate New Yorkers. "Quite a large community gathered there in the fall to pass the winter, among them a number from Otsego County, New York, who had come by sea around Cape Horn and brought quite a large amount of goods, which they sold from their cabins." Myron Angell, *History of Placer County, California* (Oakland: 1882), p. 365. The diary of John A. Markle, who arrived about the same time as Annis, is quoted *ibid*., p. 77. Samuel W. Holladay, who came to Auburn earlier, left the following April. For his reminiscences see *Publications, Soc. of Calif. Pioneers*, 1941, p. 24. Silas Weston, *Four Months in the Mines of California* (Providence: 1854), pp. 5–17, describes the camp in the spring of 1850.

git to it. Wee go till we com on bluff of the hill. Then it is almost perpendicler up and down. It is 15 hundred feet down to the water and it takes one half day to go it and hard anough at that and when you git down it is all rocks. In the summer the river is verry low and that work with the cradle as I have discribed to you. Thay dig away the stone and git the durt and wash it and if you cud find a sand bar and turn the water you find a rich lead. Some has taken out $200 hundred thousand dollars but others may work and not git one thousand the same leanth of time. It is so hot that a man cant work from 11 o'clock to 4.

The raney season begun the 1 of November and it rains about 2 thirds of the time. Thare hant bin anney snow except about 2 inches that com 14th day of January but it went right of[f]. The river now is verrey high. It is so rapid that it rises in one night 22 feet. J. Stacey and Briggs and Hardin and H. Corser is over the river and cant git back. The water carr[i]ed of[f] the boat and tha have bin thare ten days and wee have heard nothng from them. Hank got here the 10 of November. Left the *Hartford* 18 hundred miles below San Francisco and com in another vessel. He head bin here 3 weekes before he found me and his tent wont over eaighttey rodes from ourn. I must tell you that thare is so manney people here we dont [k]now the neerest naber and wee are all in a heap. The gold diggings is full of miners. You have no idea how manney people thare is here.

I rote you that my health was good and so it was but I did not right to you how sickly it was in Sacramento. Thay ware dieng all around me. . . . Thare is three deses [diseases] that the contory is subject to. All those that com over land git it and a grat maney of them die with it. A most all them that come round the Horn have it that is the black disentary and it is a verrey hard compla[i]nt. I rote on Thursday to you and I stayed in the cittey till Sunday and in the morning I was taken with a verrey hard pain [in] my bowells. The compla[i]nt com on to me and I head just as much as I could due to git home and it run me about 5 weekes. I thought one spell that I should be laid in Calafornia and if I head a died I will tell you how tha barrey them. Tha wrop them up in a blankett and put them in the ground for lumber is so high it would cost $200 fully for a coffin. But I got over it and my bodley health is good.

Thare is 2 more compl[a]int. One is scervey that begin in the laig bones and the leag swills up all read as scarlett and sum die with it. That I hant head but the other compla[i]nt is the nee. The nee is verrey painful and so weak that you cant go. I have head that but gitting better. Thare is one man within stone throw has head it ever sins he come here and he cant go. He lies in bunk all the time. His laiges is drawn up so that he cant straten them. He com over in the same ship with me. When we come here thare was not one bu[i]lding here and now thare is something like 30 or 40 la[r]ge bu[i]lding covred with shakes. No lumber only what is brought from Sacramento Cittey and it is worth $1.00 per foot.

You rote to me that you wanted to [k]now how I lived and how I fared. I fared verry hard on the ship but I lived threw it as well as anney of them. . . . We all mooved up to the dry diggins and the boys did not like Saltpough and tha bought him out. Tha wanted to go to the river to work and I concluded that I wo[u]ld not go this winter and wee divid the provition and I stay here and work at my trade. Wee head not but a small stock of provition. Wee head 2 barril of bread 1 baril of sugar and 1 bag of coffey 1 bag of rice. So I went down to the cittey and bought me a sett of blacksmith tools and I bought som ne[ce]ssary for myself for you [k]now that I like sumthing that is good to eat. I bough me half barril of cleer pork paid 25 dollars. Half bushel of beans 1 ham 21b of butter paid 3 dollars. 2 lb of pertators 1 dollar. Tin pail to put my butter in paid 1 dollar. Bought 5 lb of dryed apples 3 lb of peaches and bought ten lb of cheas 1 lb of tea one lb of salratus 15 lb of white sugar beside wot I head for my part. I think that will last me. I bought me cucking utension to cook with so you see I have plenty to eat. But wee are deprived of vedgtable. That 2 lb of pertaters is all the pertates that I have eat for ten month past. I can git them here but I will not pay the price for them tha ask. Tin shilling a lb for pertators butter 3 dollars cheas 1 dollar salratus 3 dollars lb. I bought 40 lb of flour for 12 dollars and I thought when the raney season come on I should not have enough. I sent down and got 50 lb sack. Paid 15 dollars thare and paid 25 dollars for brin[g]ing up on mueals so I think I have got enough for this winter.

Wee have a larg tent paid fiftey dollars for it and we made a chantey in front of the tent and a chimney to cook in. John Halladay and I have lived in it this winter. J. Halladay did not go to the river becase he was unwell but he is gitting smart now. We live as well as we can cook and we have got pretty well drill to it. We back [bake] our bread and biscut and frey nut cakes. . . . So wee live just as well as I want to live all except what I told you that is vedgatable. Wee have head deer meet a most all winter so far but the boys hant bin up now for 12 day. Tha kill them the other side of the river and brin[g] up some every time that tha com up that is once a week after provition. Halladay like to live well as I do but I exspect to that we shall fare hard next summer as wee cant carrey the good thing whare we go. I begun this letter 2 day ago. Sins then there has bin 2 men dug in within 8 rods of our tent and tha tuck out rising of 3 hundred dollars per day. One man tuck one pan full and he got one hundred and thirty two dollars out of it. But I must tell you that is not often don. There is man 3 rods below them and tha dont git from 4–8 dollars per day. Tha hant struck the rich lead.

When I was down to the cittey and this you may mention to Russell I bought a grindstone and tuck it up to the dry diggins and hung it. I tex them 50 cents an ax and 2 shilling for a mining nife 1 shilling for pork kniff. The stone has neated mee not far from one hundred dollars and tha

EN ROUTE BETWEEN SACRAMENTO AND THE MINES

From *California Illustrated*, 1853

are grinding on it now. I want to tell you a little about the contaray. San Francisco last April was verry small place about 12 or 15 houses. When I got thare it head spread over a larg place and thare was a number of hotell thare. Tha head a fire this winter and burnt up the best part of the cittey but in fifteen dayes it was all bault up again and grows the fastes of aney cittey in the world. If it continuers one year it will be bigger than Albany.

Now I will give you som discription of Sacramento Cittey. Last spring it was a wilderness. Now it contains 3 thousand inhab[it]ant beside all the other people that is thare and cittey is full all the time just like a general tra[i]ning. But wuao [woe] to the cittey. Now it lies 160 miles up the Sacramento River. The bank of that river when I was thare was 30 feet from the water. Now it is all under water and tha cant git about the cittey only in boats and tha ask 4 dollars to carry a man from one store to another. But I must tell that thare was a grat many emagrant tented thare and went out about 2 miles south of Sutter Fort on a rising ground. The rising ground is covered with tents and muels and cattle to keep out of the water.

Now I cant tell you aney more about the Cittey but I will give you som discription of this land here and the wild beast. 2 miles from Sacramento Cittey wee cross the south Amaracan fork witch run[s] into the Sacramento just above the cittey. Then wee com on N. East corse over plains with Catran[?] oaks. Short boddeys but verrey long tops the shaid will

shade half of a acer of ground.[15] It is 45 miles to here. Thare is no grass here the land is all bare no green thing but the soap plant. It dont com out of the rock but thare is a plant here that answers for soap. I have used it and it will take of[f] the gress [grease] of your hand as well as soap. It grows in the ground. Tha are all up green now. Tha are about as big as my fist big to the botom and growes like a sculion.[16]

Now I will tell you about the wild beast here. Thare is the ciotey. It is a Spanish name for woolfs but tha are harmless. All tha want is something to eat and tha will git it if tha can by steling it. Tha will steal the boots out from under your head when you are asleep. Thare is no robin here som squiril but [not] our kind. There is plenty of deer but there is one anamel hear that is verry much dreded that is the grisely bare. It is a bad anamal it is larg. There was one killed about 2 miles from here about 2 weeks sins and he waied 9 hundred pound and tha say that tha have bin killed that has wait 18 hundred pounds. If tha git in contact with a man tha paw him all to peaces and eat him up.

I will tell you what wee hav hed for brackfast this morning. I had sum cold back [baked] beans and a peace of boiled mackrel and good coffey and pie and chese and nut cakes and som cold biled beef. So you may [k]now how I live. Now I will tell you what wee intend to do in the spring. Wee thing of mooving up to the River Youber [Yuba] that is about 3 hundred miles. We have got [to] pack all our provition on muel. I exspect that it will be a hard jurney but wee are determaid to git som gold before wee come home. I have dug about 150 dollars worth of gold sins I have bin here that is all. Haladay and my self is going out a prospect-ten today on the mountin 2 miles of[f] whare tha think thare is gold. For at the foot of hill the miners dig gold more than aney other placer. I told you that I was baking pies yesterday and one of our store keepirs here Mr. Brown wonted one of them and I carried one to him and he gave me $2.50 for that. You would think that if you could sell yours at that rate you could make money fast. Your loaves of bread is worth here 2 dollars a loff. But I will menthion to you that wee have the best of flour better then the N. York flour. It comes from Chili most boutiful flour you never see so good.

[15] John S. Newberry, *Reports on the Geology, Botany and Zoology of Northern California and Oregon* (Washington: 1857), Zoology, p. 56, identifies this tree as *Quercus longilandis*. "The trunk, rarely less than two, frequently seven or eight feet in diameter, rises eight, ten or twelve feet from the ground, and then divides into huge arms, which throw themselves out at right angles, and bending low to the ground, cover a surface of one hundred or more feet in diameter. . . . Here the spermophiles [ground squirrels] live in thousands; under each tree a sub-colony which have, parent and child, pierced the earth with their burrows. . . . These squirrels are long-tailed and long-eared for spermophiles and have much the form and action of the true squirrels. They are very timid, starting at every noise, and on every intrusion into their privacy dropping from the trees, or hurrying in from their wanderings, and scudding to their holes with all possible celerity."

[16] California lilywort (*Chlorogalum pomeridianum*).

Three months later Annis wrote again to Nancy from the "Dry Diggins" at Auburn:

I have bin laim ever since I rote to you with the nee complant but gitting better but slow. I cant right but little [to] you at this time but I want to lett you no that I shant leave here this summer so you send your etters to Sacramento Cittey post office. Tha have got a post office there. Now Nancy I tell you that I cant dig gold if I never git any for it is hardist work that ever was don but tha are diggin all around me. Hank lug out one lump within one rod of my door that was worth 54 dollars and he and John Haladay tuck out the day before $100 and 30 dollars but tha have sold out the lead and gone up to the Uber [Yuba] River to find a better place to work this summer.

Now Nancy I will tell you that I can git gold here and not dig for it. I have moved about 20 rods from whare I wintered and I think you would like to no what I am doing and I will tell you I have taken a larg hous and I am keeping a bording house. 1 meal for $1.50 a meal. I have bin selling at 50 cents a drink at the bar but sell now for 25. Thing[s] has come down since the te[a]ming got good. I work at my trade. My kit is cloose to my door. I have one hired man witch I pay 5 dollars per day but he is only stay with me till May. I think that I can git a woman. I no of one she will cook for me for 100 and 25 dollars per month. If I could git women as cheap as you can you see what I could save. I take money all the time. I handle more in one day then I did at Port Gibson a month. Nancy money is verry plenty here. Ever boddey got a bag of gold and tha dispute no price.

You may tell Mr. Lane that I have 32 dollars for sho[e]ing a hors. I often take 8 or 10 dollars before 10 oclock in the morning. Gold is the curancy here but thare is ten times the silver here as there is home. I keep on my laigs all the time in store and I have got 15 hundred dollars worth of good[s]. I am going to make something or I will brack down. I tell you my grindstone has brought me about 200 dollars and tha are grinding every day and [I] take some money for pulling teeth. I have 5 dollars per tooth. I trade in everything that comes along picks and bars. I make sometimes 4 or 5 dollars in 1 pick in one hour after I have bought it. Tha that wants to leave he will sell his pick and shovel and bar for jus what he can git for them and thare is no boddy else that byes but me. Tha come right to me. I have bought for 2 dollars and sold them agin right of[f] from 10 to 15 dollars. Nancy I will tell you that if I was young I never would leave Calafornia till I head 50 thousand but my age and health will not permit. Thar is gold here and thar is money in aboundnce.

I must tell you about the seson here. Vegetation in full bloom now and has bin this 10 days. The woods is all out leaves full groon and I suppose yourn is not budded yet. I suppose you wont to [k]now when I am coming home. I cant tell you. I think it is doutfull if I com this fall. If I

can git 2 or 3 thousand dollars clear I shall come home for I dont wont to winter here agin. I should not mind it if I head as good houses as thare is in the States. You nead not worry about me beca[u]se the boys has gone and left me. I got fri[e]nd here as good as tha com. I can git trusted for aney amount if I wonted. This man has put me in his store. Gives me the rent and half the [profit] that I can make out of the good[s].

If you head no children I wish you ware here. Wee could make money fast. Due the work ourselves. You could git six dollars per day for washing. I bought a washer day before yesterday and I have now sold it while I am riting for 2 ounces and I gave 4 dollars for it. So you see that I can make money without diggin gold . . . . Here is six men digging within 2 rodes of my door that tuck out yesterday 5 hundred and 16 dollars and I presume tha will take as much today. You have no ide[a] what a rush thare is for gold. All this reg[i]on is full of people. It ape[a]rs to me thar is more man here then thar is in the State of N. York. The cuntory is full. I understand that there is thousand and thousand of people coming over the plains this summer but thare is more gold here then I head any ide[a] when I rote to you before. You may dig aney whare and you find som gold but sum places is richer than others but if tha hold on ten years tha will dig up all upper Calafornia.

Nancy I wont to have you right to me if Jerome is in Calafornia and if you [k]now what part he is in. This is a grat contory. The gold diggins exstends 5 hundred miles E. W. N. and South. Nancy sum times I think I will come home for tha die every day. 1 man was buried yesterday, another today. The coffin jus gone by my door and one man cut his throught not 2 hours ago and thare is grate many sick. Thare was one company come here of 9 and 5 out of the nine is dead.

Isaac's inquiry about his younger brother Jerome was answered almost at once and directly from San Francisco:

Dear Brother Isaac

You no doubt have forgoten you little brother Jerome or Bonaparte as I am sometimes caled but I have not forgoten you. In my wifes last letter she wrote that you had started for this country so I thought I would call at the office in this place and inquire for a letter directed to you and so I did and seeing your name I took it out and read it and found that it was from your son in law Mr. Russell. I hope you will pardon me in so doing and attribute the motive and act to my ardent desire to hear from or see you once more in the flesh, especially in this land so far away from our friends.

I left Fort Smith in Arkansas on the 11th of April /49 and came over the plains by the southern route. Was about 7 month getting to Freemonts diggins on the Maraposa at which place I remained but a few days and left for Stockton where I remained doing business untill a few days since. I am in compy with a man by the name of Latimer. We are here and

have purchest us a large house to put up in Stockton where we expect to remain and do business untill we leave for the States. So far we have done a fair business.

Now Brother I want you to write me. I will give you my address. Rev. J. B. Annis, Stockton, California. I learn from Mr. Russell letter that Henry Corser is somewhere in this country. If you know anything of him mention it in your letter to me and his address and yours.

Perhaps you would like to know something of the southern mines and what the miners are doing. 1st the mines are rich and easy of access. 2nd the miners average from 5 to 16 dollars per day. They are quite healthy which makes it quite an inducement to imigrants. Stockton is above high water mark and not subject to overflow.

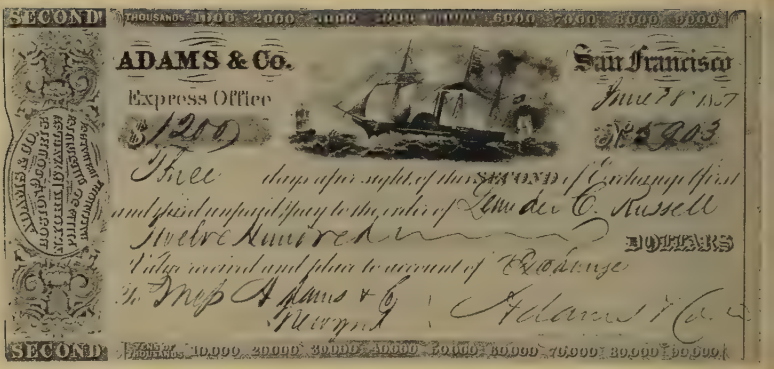
Nancy wrote affectionately June 13, 1850, answering her father's letters from Auburn:

We are all well here at home. Business is rather dull here. The plank road has fell through.The canall has been out of repair all summer.There is not much going on. I wish that we were safely landed in California and had the same propperty there. We might get rich, but I will not complain for we get a good living here by working hard. . . .We have had some bad luck since you went away. Leander had nine hundred and 68 dollars stolen out of the stage. . . . We keep up the old business of baking bread. I have baked 30 loaves today. I am glad to hear that you are doing well. I hope you will get rich. We all want to see you verry much. Take care of your health for you are getting to be old and sickness will go hard with you. I want to see your face once more. I can see your likeness every day but that is not the original. Father I wish I was there to cook and wash for you. Woman as I am I could make a fortune in a little while but I am here and it is no use talking. If you live to come home be carefull and not get robbed on the way. I want you to bring me some curiosities from California, some rare plants and seeds. You can put the roots in a box of dirt and keep it wet. They will live if you can get them across the Isthmus. The children are well. They talk a great deal about you. Alice is the smartest child we have got.[17] They all send there love to you.

Her next letter, in September, acknowledged receipt of a draft of $500 and urged her father to return. Leander Russell added a postscript about one of Isaac's companions who had left California for the States:

There was a gentleman here yesterday that brought the sad news of Jacob Saulpaugh is no more. He died on the steamer Falcon from Chagres to New York, about 3 days sail from Chagres. He lived ownly 4 hours

[17] Gravestones in the Port Gibson cemetery record Nancy Russell's dates as 1811–1898, Leander's as 1806–1876, and Alice's as 1838–1904.



SECOND OF EXCHANGE BY ADAMS & CO., SAN FRANCISCO, 1851

Sent by Isaac Annis to his son-in-law, Leander C. Russell

The New-York Historical Society

after he was taken with cholera. When he was first taken sick he enquired for a freemason. This gentleman went to see him. Jake made him promise to deliver his pocketbooks and money to his wife [in] Port Gibson and he kept his promise. He gave her about $550 dollars in money and there was a draft on N Y for $500 more payable to me. The draft remains a mystery as I have not had any advices about one. There is nothing in the draft to show who bought it in San Francisco. The draft is jest like the one you sent me except the date and No.[18]

The grandfather's thoughts turned definitely homeward during the next winter. From Auburn he wrote February 25, 1851:

My health is good at this tim[e] but I have bin sick this winter. I took a bad cold and I was sick about a week but I have got over it. I will tell you that wee have head no winter here, no rain of any acount and no snow. The rodes has bin good all winter and prouduse has com down to the last pint. I shall loose one thousand dollars in flour and pork. I went to Sacramento Citty last fall and I paid out three thousand dollars in flour and pork and it cost me when I got it up here 20 dollars per hundred. Now I cant sell it at 10 dollars per hundred and you see I shall loose 15 hundred dollars and it is all owing to the winter. I could com home last fall and brought three thousand and now if i git home with half that mony I shall think I shall due well. . . . Tell Alice that I shall bring the gold to make her a ring when I come. As respect that draft that Mr. Russell has got I

[18] California express and banking companies of the time issued Firsts, Seconds, and Thirds of Exchange to transfer money East. Bearing an identical serial number and date, and drawn on the same party, each document was forwarded to the payee by a different route. When the first to be presented was paid, the others became worthless.

suposed that it was the draft of that money that I sent but if it is not the date nor the number it will draw the money when the draft is presented.

In a final letter of June 30th, containing the draft for $1200 on Adams & Co.[19] illustrated opposite, Isaac Annis announced his imminent departure from San Francisco:

Nancy I am now on my way hom to the States. I will tell you that my health is not verry good and I hav got a hard jerney before me at this tim[e] of the year as it is the rainey season. But I hope I shall indur it as I have gone through a good many hard trial. Thare is three boats for Panama—the Panama and the Ithmus and the Union.[20] I dont [k]now witch I shall take but I shant right but a few lines to you now.

I now inclose a draft of twelve hundred dollars. If I never git hom this may reach you so you will dispose of it as you see fit. Give some of it to the children more pertickerly to Alice but I hope proveidens may smile on me so that I may return.

If Annis chose the steamer *Union* for his return, he met with unexpected adventure when she ran aground on the coast of Lower California. There had been so hearty and prolonged a celebration of the 4th of July aboard that the following night no deck watch was kept and the helmsman fell asleep at the wheel. The vessel became a total loss but all the passengers and much of the cargo were safely landed.[21] Whichever ship Annis took, the uncashed Second of Exchange on Adams & Co. is indicative that he survived the perils of the homeward journey to present a duplicate First on his arrival at New York. More positive evidence still of the traveller's return is a marble gravestone yet standing in the tree-shaded cemetery at Port Gibson:

ISAAC ANNIS,
Died
Jan. 27. 1858
In the 72 Year
of his age.

[19] Adams & Co. charged a premium of 2% for drafts on New York. The leading California express company of the gold rush period, it failed in the panic of 1855. Oscar O. Winther, *Express and Stage Coach Days in California* (Stanford University: 1935), pp. 50, 112.

[20] The *Panama* and the *Isthmus* were Pacific Mail steamers; the *Union* belonged to the independent Empire City Line.

[21] Lewis, *supra*, note 10, p. 247; San Francisco *Morning Post*, July 21, 1851.

PLATE I: THE BROKEN ARM, A PLAINS CREE WARRIOR

Painting by George Catlin, 1831

United States National Museum, Washington, D.C.

THREE ORNAMENTS WORN BY UPPER MISSOURI INDIANS A CENTURY AND A QUARTER AGO*

by John C. Ewers

IN THE YEARS 1831–1834 two white artists created the earliest known portraits of some of the most picturesque of all westerners—the Indians of the Upper Missouri. These field portraits by the self-taught American, George Catlin, and the thoroughly schooled Swiss, Carl Bodmer, are important sources of detailed information on the costumes worn by northern plainsmen a century and a quarter ago. Not only do they show the basic forms and methods of decoration of the larger garments but they also illustrate the ornamental accessories worn by prominent men and women among the tribes of the region to enhance their appearance on dress occasions.

Three types of ornaments worn by men are of particular interest as examples of the ingenuity of the natives in combining trade articles with materials obtained by these Indians in their own country. These ornaments are exceedingly rare in museum collections today.

The Hair Pipe Hair Ornament

In the fall of 1831, George Catlin executed portraits of members of a small delegation of Indians from the Upper Missouri whom he met in St. Louis on their way to visit the Great White Father in Washington. One of them, The Broken Arm, a band chief and renowned warrior of the Plains Cree, wore a handsome costume which included a peculiar ornament for the front hair consisting of a cord (probably of buckskin), passing over the head above the hairline on which were strung large glass trade beads and four long, white tubes pendant at each side of the

* Published by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, where the author is Planning Officer of the Museum of History and Technology.

face. (See Plate 1.) When he visited the Upper Missouri tribes in the summer of 1832, Catlin painted a portrait of The Six, a Plains Ojibwa chief, who was wearing this type of ornament. The following summer Carl Bodmer, among the Blackfoot near Fort McKenzie, made a fine watercolor portrait of Wolf Calf, a young Piegan, who wore a similar ornament.

The most striking feature of these ornaments—the long, white tubes, tapering gradually from the centers toward each end—were known to Indian traders as hair pipes. They were fashioned from the lip of the large conch shell, *Strombus gigas*, in faraway New Jersey. Thousands of these shells were carried to New York as ballast in ships returning from the West Indies. There they were bought by enterprising Bergen County wampum makers who carted them home and painstakingly worked them into ornaments for the Indian trade with crude hand tools. Plate 2 illustrates the successive stages in the manufacture of a hair pipe. Figure a. is an unworked *Strombus gigas* shell. Next to it (Figure b.) is a portion of the thick lip of a shell broken off with a pick and chisel. Figure c. is a piece blocked out ready for drilling. Figure d. is a short pipe with a hole drilled through its center lengthwise. The pipe was drilled by hand with a metal drill. First the drill was passed halfway through the pipe. Then the pipe was reversed and drilled from the other end until the two holes met at the center. Figure e. is a longer hair pipe shaped by holding it in wooden pinchers against a grindstone. Figure f. is a finished pipe, its surface carefully polished with Rockaway sand and water.

The Bergen County hair pipe makers marketed their product through New York merchants who sold them to Indian traders in both Montreal and St. Louis as early as the first decade of the 19th century. The famous explorers, Lewis and Clark, are known to have purchased two dozen hair pipes from Auguste Chouteau, the leading Indian trader of St. Louis, before leaving that city on their overland expedition to the Pacific. They planned to distribute them sparingly, no more than two to each chief, among

PLATE 2: STAGES IN THE MANUFACTURE OF HAIR PIPES FROM THE SHELL OF STROMBUS GIGAS

the tribes they met on their trip up the Missouri. Apparently hair pipes were rare and coveted Indian gifts at that time.

By the 1830s the American Fur Company in New York was selling hair pipes in considerable quantities to Pratte, Chouteau and Co. of St. Louis, the principal firm engaged in the Indian trade on the Upper Missouri. Records of these transactions appear in the American Fur Company Papers in The New-York Historical Society. When an order for "6000 inches Wampum hair pipes" was received December 12, 1834, it was accompanied by a complaint that some of the pipes in their previous order had not been bored through. Whereupon the American Fur Company wrote the manufacturer, Samuel Campbell, Franklin, Bergen County, N. J.:

> We want 3250 inches Wampum Hair Pipes, none less than 5 inches long, and not many of them over 6 inches—You must have them here by the first day of February next, or say 4 weeks from this time, and we shall pay you the same price as last season—Some of those you furnished

last winter were not bored entirely through—This will not do, and I hope such deception will never be practiced again.[1]

The hair pipes were shipped to St. Louis via New Orleans. Presumably they reached St. Louis in time to be sent to the up-river trading posts on the Missouri for the following summer and winter Indian trade. The natives were sharp traders who again refused to accept imperfectly drilled hair pipes. And again the St. Louis traders wrote to New York complaining about some of the holes which didn't "meet in the middle."[2]

Beaded Chokers

Catlin's portrait of The Broken Arm discloses the appearance of a more rare ornament, a two-banded choker worn around the subject's neck. (See Plate 1.) Catlin's portrait of The Six, Plains Ojibwa chief, and Bodmer's likeness of a Mandan dandy (Plate 3) also illustrate this neck ornament.

I have found only two examples of this distinctive ornament in museum collections. Both specimens probably date from the 1830s or earlier. Neither is tribally identified. One of them,[3] in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was formerly a part of the old Peale Museum Collection in Philadelphia. The other,[4] in the United States National Museum, was collected by John Varden, pioneer museum man of Washington, D.C., probably before 1840. It is identified merely by the regional designation "Missouri Valley." This choker (Plate 4) consists of a base of buckskin stuffed with some semi-soft material. The two rolls measure 1⅞ inches in diameter. It is ornamented on the outside with alternate bands of blue and white trade beads of large embroidering bead size, about ⅛ inch in diameter. The beads are

[1] American Fur Company Papers (NYHS). Orders Inward. Book 1. pp. 3, 29.

[2] *Idem.* pp. 154–5. The writer's detailed account of the various uses of hair pipes among the western tribes appears in a monograph, *Hair Pipes in Plains Indian Adornment: A Study in Indian and White Ingenuity*. Bulletin 164. Anthrop. Paper No. 50. Bureau of American Ethnology. (In press.)

[3] Peabody Museum, Catalogue No. 53017.

[4] U. S. National Museum, Catalogue No. 5419.

PLATE 3: MANDAN DANDY
By Carl Bodmer, 1833–34

PLATE 4: BEADED CHOKER
U.S. National Museum

sewn to the skin base with sinew thread. There are strings of the same type of beads pendant from the center of the front of this ornament. The choker was tied around the wearer's neck by two buckskin cords at the back of the specimen.

The Beaded Hair Bow

Another man's ornament which was more commonly depicted in Catlin and Bodmer's portraits of Indian men among tribes on the Missouri north of the Teton Sioux was the beaded hair bow. Catlin shows this ornament in two portraits of Hidatsa Indians, two of Mandan, an Assiniboin and a Crow Indian (The Very Sweet Man, see Plate 5). Bodmer illustrated this ornament in portraits of six Mandan, an Hidatsa, a Crow and a Yanktonai Sioux Indian.[5]

A tribally unidentified and undated example of this ornament is preserved in the United States National Museum. (See Plate 6.) This specimen clearly illustrates the details of hair bow construction. The base is a bow-shaped piece of rawhide 4¼ inches

[5]The original Catlin paintings are in the United States National Museum. The Bodmer illustrations are reproduced in the *Atlas* accompanying *Travels in the Interior of North America* by Maximilian, Prince zu Wied.

PLATE 5: THE VERY SWEET MAN, A CROW INDIAN
Painting by George Catlin, 1832
United States National Museum, Washington, D.C.

long. A brass tube 1½ inches in length is wrapped around the center of the piece. The front surface of each end section is embroidered with blue and white trade beads of ⅛ inch diameter, sewn to the rawhide with sinew thread.

As indicated in the Bodmer and Catlin portraits (Plates 3 and 5), these bows were worn in pairs, one over each temple, al-

hough the method of tying to the hair is not illustrated. Some of these ornaments were elaborated by a feather sewn upright to the top of the bow (Plates 3 and 5) and/or by long pendants from the bottom of the bow. Some pendants are lengths of braided hair or metal chain (Plate 5). Others are more elaborate consisting of alternating elements of dentalium shells and large trade beads (Plate 3). The dentalia were obtained through intertribal trade from Indians living on the Pacific Coast. The trader, Alexander Henry, observed trade in these shells among the Chinook on the Lower Columbia in 1813. "The best quality are two inches long. One fathom of these shells is valued at three blankets of 2½ points. They are gathered northward, somewhere about Woody point N. of Nootka, in the sand, at low water."[6]

Prince Maximilian, the German scientist whom Carl Bodmer accompanied to the Upper Missouri, learned that the Blackfoot Indians obtained dentalia from "the nations on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, especially the Kutanas."[7] Maximilian mentioned the hair bow ornaments worn by Mandan men in 1833–34, beaded with blue and white beads with pendants of blue trade beads and white dentalium shells.[8] Probably the dentalia employed by the Mandan and Hidatsa were obtained from the Crow Indians who were intermediaries in the trade between the tribes west of the Rockies and the horticultural villages on the Missouri.

Trade Beads

The large glass beads strung on pendants and the smaller ones sewn with sinew to chokers and hair bows are typical examples of the beads furnished in considerable quantities to the Upper Missouri tribes by American traders in the 1830s. The embroidering beads are of the larger size known to older Indians in recent years as "big beads." They are about twice

[6] Alexander Henry, and David Thompson, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, edited by Elliott Coues (New York: 1897), p. 753.

[7] Maximilian, Prince zu Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*. In Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland: 1906), Vol. 23, p. 98.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 259.

PLATE 6: BEADED HAIR BOW (FRONT VIEW, ACTUAL SIZE)

United States National Museum, Washington, D.C.

the size of the little seed beads commonly employed in Plains Indian beadwork of the late 19th century and still used in the beadwork of the western Indians.

The Indians selected their bead colors and sizes with great care. In the 1830s they had a definite preference for two colors of beads—blue and white. These colors contrasted tastefully with the buckskin backgrounds of their dress clothing and the reddish-brown of their faces. The original Catlin paintings in the United States National Museum and the Bodmer watercolors in the collection of the Estate of Prince Maximilian zu Wied clearly reveal the preference for blue and white beads among the Upper Missouri tribes. This preference also is indicated in the large orders for trade beads received by the American Fur Company in New York from Pratte, Chouteau and Company of St. Louis in the 1830s. On November 20, 1835 the St. Louis firm complained:

> With regard to the Glass Beads, blue and white pound Beads, all those received last year and this year . . . were entirely too large and unsaleable. You ought to have good samples with which we have furnished you for several years past besides Mr. Jacob Halsey has promised to assist you in the purchase of these articles. Have the goodness to see him on the subject and endeavor that so important an article should be furnished us of the color and size exactly suitable.[9]

Such complaints regarding unsaleable beads in 1834 and 1835 and the failure of their Philadelphia importer to furnish beads for

[9] American Fur Company Papers (NYHS). Orders Inward. Book 1, p. 164.

ne 1836 trade on time, caused the American Fur Company to lace orders directly with Allesandre Bartolla of Venice, Italy, ne great center for the manufacture of glass beads used in the ndian trade.[10]

Information now available on three types of ornaments worn y men among several tribes of the Upper Missouri at the time nese Indians first were pictured by George Catlin and Carl odmer in the years 1831–1834 reveals the ingenuity of these eople in combining a few simple materials native to their coun- ry and prepared with little difficulty (buckskin and hair cords, tuffed buckskin chokers, bow-shaped pieces of cut rawhide, nd sinew thread) with trade materials to devise distinctive and ttractive costume accessories. To the materials obtained through heir own hunts they added dentalium shells secured in inter- ribal trade from the Pacific Coast, hair pipes fashioned from West Indian conch shells by New Jersey wampum makers, brass ubes of undetermined origin, and glass beads from far-off Ven- ce, Italy. New York City was the important distributing center or both hair pipes and trade beads.

While all three ornaments were portrayed in use among Up- er Missouri tribes living northward of the Sioux, these orna- nents appear to have had different tribal distributions, judging rom the pictorial evidence now available. The hair pipe hair endant was worn by members of three Algonquian-speaking omadic tribes, the Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa and Blackfoot, all iving north of the Missouri in present North Dakota, Montana nd adjacent areas of Canada. Beaded chokers were worn by a oung Mandan as well as by chiefs of the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa. Beaded hair bows, apparently the most popular of the hree ornaments, were worn by members of five Siouan-speak- ng tribes, the Assiniboin, Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Yank- onai. However the fact that more than half of the known wear- rs of this ornament were Mandan Indians suggests that the eaded hair bow may have been a Mandan invention.

[10] *Idem.*, Letter Book No. 3, p. 222.

JOSEPH BRANT, THAYENDANEGEA (1742–1807)

Mezzotint after George Romney, published in London, 1779

The New-York Historical Society

THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN OF 1779

THE DIARY OF QUARTERMASTER SERGEANT MOSES SPROULE OF THE THIRD NEW JERSEY REGIMENT IN THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, MAY 17—OCTOBER 17, 1779

Edited by R. W. G. Vail

FOR SEVERAL years prior to the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania had been overrun by war parties of the Iroquois who had swooped down on the poorly garrisoned settlements and unprotected farms of the Mohawk, Schoharie, and Susquehanna Valleys and had killed and scalped or carried into captivity hundreds of the pioneers and their families. Their homes were burned, their property destroyed when it could not be carried away, and grief, terror, despair, and rage filled the frontier towns.

From their headquarters at Fort Niagara and Kanadesaga (the present Geneva) the British and Tories under the guidance of Colonel John and his son Captain Walter Butler and the Iroquois (principally Senecas) under the able leadership of the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, had carried on the war in their own bloody fashion with a number of definite purposes in view, aside from the mere love of slaughter and loot which our early historians were apt to assign as their only motives. The British, working through the Indian raids, had the larger purposes of crippling the colonists by destroying the frontier crops which might be used to feed Washington's army; of compelling the retention of defensive troops along the frontiers, which might otherwise have marched away to join the Continental Army; of driving back the Americans from the British posts at Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego; of keeping in British hands the water courses and trails of northern and western New York,

through which a British army of invasion might later march; and of supplying the Indians, Tories, and the fort at Niagara with the food they so sorely needed.

As reports of the massacres of Cherry Valley, Wyoming, and a host of lesser frontier settlements reached Washington, he realized that not only must he protect his people from invasion but also that it was all-important to the success of his campaign on the Hudson to put an effective end to this serious menace. So, in 1778, he began plans for a campaign of retaliation which should destroy forever the power of the League of the Iroquois as an aid to the British cause.

To the frontier settlers, the proposed campaign was merely an expedition of revenge and as such they welcomed it and the protection which it would afford them. But to the far-seeing Washington the campaign into the Iroquois country had larger possibilities. He hoped not only to destroy the Iroquois and Tory threat from the north but, at the same time, to wipe out the hundreds of acres of Indian corn and other foods which had been planted by the Iroquois under the supervision of the Butlers for the feeding of the British at Niagara and the other lake posts, as well as the Iroquois and the numerous roving bands of Tories. The British were dependent on these hundreds of acres of Indian farmlands for a large part of the food supply of their frontier forts and even, to a considerable extent, for the use of the garrisons in Canada.

Washington also hoped, by his expedition, to threaten the British forts at Niagara and Oswego and to compel the enemy to keep men and munitions for the defense of Canada which might otherwise be shipped to New York to strengthen the British force attempting to wrest the Hudson valley from him. And it is also probable that Washington saw the value of driving back the Iroquois in order that their rich territories might be added to the new republic when the terms of peace should be finally drawn up.

The story of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign is a twice-told tale and we need not go into its details, for the main activities of

he expedition are sufficiently indicated in the Sproule diary itelf. A few facts will, however, be useful to supplement the enries of the diary. The campaign against the Iroquois was carried ut by four expeditions working together and any extended acount would, of course, follow the history of each. As the proule diary deals only with the main expedition, however, no ttempt will be made to do more than mention the expedition of olonel Daniel Broadhead from Pittsburgh into the Seneca ountry, the campaign of destruction of General James Clinton long the Mohawk, down Lake Otsego and the Susquehanna, n his way to join Sullivan at Tioga,[1] or the preliminary expedi- ion of Colonel Goose Van Schaick against the Onondagas.

[1] An interesting letter relating to this expedition from General Clinton to his wife was acquired by the Society while the present article was in press. It reads:

"Jochums Farm* About 20 Miles
Down the Susquehanah River from
Lake Otsego Aug^{t}. 10th 1779

'Dear Wife

"I left the Lake Yesterday Morning and got within four Miles of this place the Same Day. I was Obliged to Lay by the most of this Day on Acc^{t} of the Rain. I Expect to be at Anaquaga† in About four Days hence being About Sixty Miles Distance where I Expect to be Joined by L^{t} Coll Pawling and About 300 Men; as part of them will Return I Expect to write to You Again by them. Our Troops Are hearty and in high Spirits and we have Lost but one man Since we left Albany who Died with an Apoplectic fit.

"I wrote to You on the 5th Ins^{t} which I Expect You have Rec^{d} by this time, therefore I have Nothing further to Inform you of. By A Letter which I Just Now Received from my Brother George Dated the 5th Ins^{t}. Informs me You are All well which I Rejoyce to hear. May god Grant that you may All Continue So till I have the pleasure to See you Again. My Love to You and My Dear Children, my Mother, Brother, the Rest of the family and all my good Neighbours.

"I am Your Affectionate Husband
"JAMES CLINTON

"P.S. I have heard Last sunday by a Person who just Came in to me from Brandt and was taken prisoner by him on the Mohawk River that there is About thirty four Prisoners amonst the Indians Lately taken at Minisink.‡ Some of them are Officers from About Goshen. You may Let their Friends know this and I hope we may Soon Release them. Excuse Haste as we are on a March.

J. C."

* Joachim Van Valkenburgh's farm near present Oneonta, N.Y.

† On August 5th Governor George Clinton, the General's brother, had ordered Colonel Pawling to march in time to meet General Clinton at Onoquaga (near present Nineveh, N.Y.). Clinton arrived there on the 14th, burned a fine Indian village with all its cornfields and orchards, and, having waited for Pawling till the 17th, continued his march toward a junction with Sullivan at Tioga.

‡ The Battle of Minisinck took place July 22, 1779.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN (1740–1795)

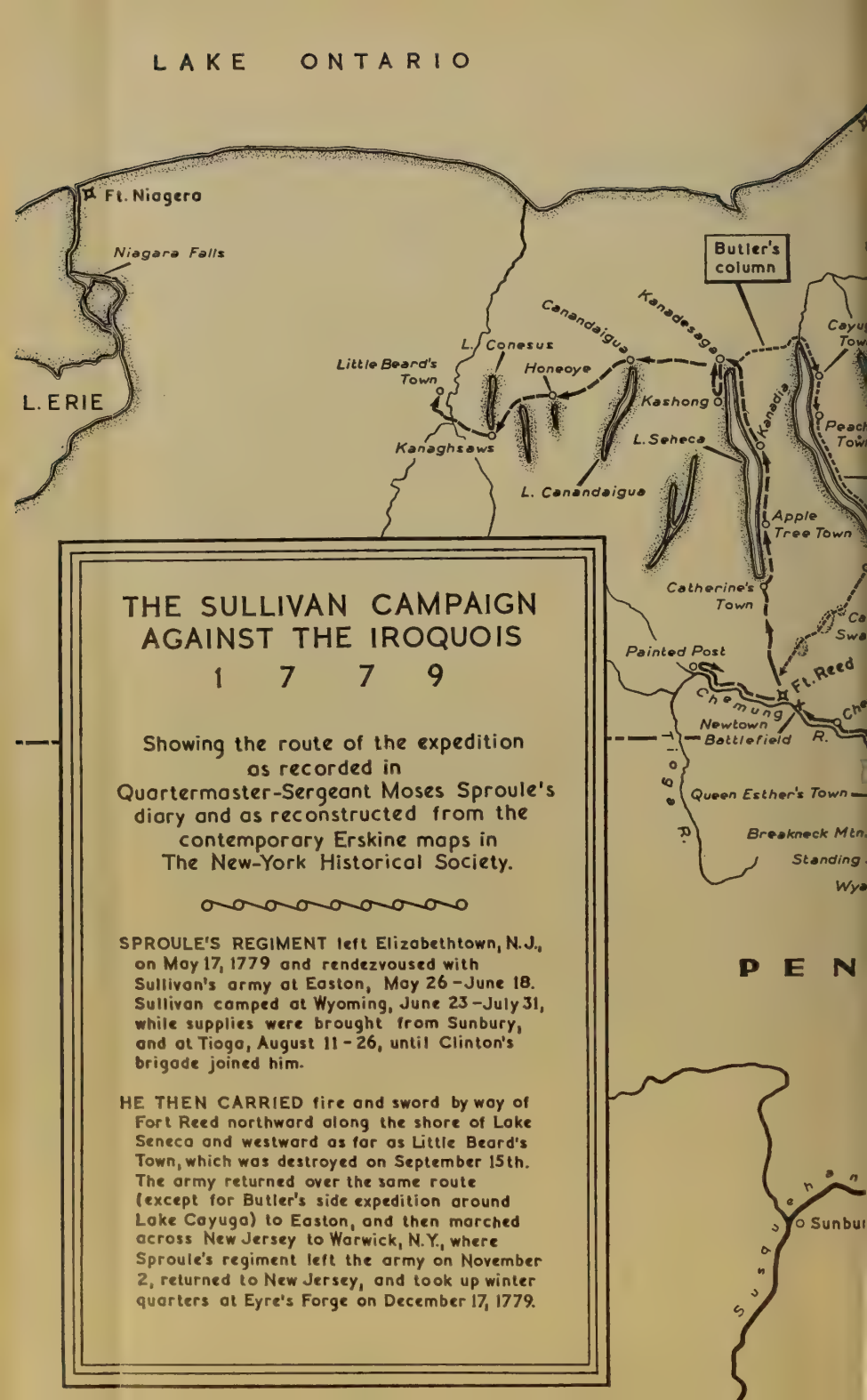
Mezzotint published by Thomas Hart, London, August 22, 1776

The New-York Historical Society

The main expeditionary force, with General John Sullivan ; commander-in-chief, began to assemble at Easton, Pennsylania, on May 7, 1779, and, after a delay of some days marched) Wyoming where it arrived on the twenty-ninth of June.)uartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule and the New Jersey)rces had reached Easton on May 26th and his diary continues ıe story through the campaign and along the return march unl the expedition was finished and his regiment returned to winır quarters in New Jersey. For a month Sullivan was delayed at Vyoming by the non-arrival of his supplies but they finally ame on the twenty-fourth of July and on the thirty-first he egan his march for Tioga where he was to meet the brigade of General Clinton. Here he arrived on August eleventh to be oined on the twenty-second by Clinton and his New Yorkers. our days later the army began its march into the Indian country.

The entire force, now nearly 4,000 strong, consisted of the rigades of Brigadier General William Maxwell (four New Jrey regiments), Brigadier General Enoch Poor (three New Hampshire and one Massachusetts regiments), Brigadier Genral Edward Hand (two regular Pennsylvania regiments, a Pennylvania German battalion, an artillery regiment and four units of Pennsylvania riflemen and miscellaneous volunteers) and Brigadier General James Clinton (four New York regiments ınd a New York artillery detachment).

The early progress of the expedition was interrupted not by he Indians so much as by the difficulties of moving such a conderable force, with its supplies and artillery, through the roadess mountains of Pennsylvania. On August 29th they reached he vicinity of the Indian village of Newtown. Here, some five niles below the present city of Elmira, they found opposed to hem a force of nearly 1,200 Indians and Tories, determined to drive out the invaders of their country. They had constructed ı series of rough log breastworks and rifle pits on the crest of a ridge, in a position from which they vainly hoped to catch Sullivan's army in ambush. Behind this hastily built fortification



THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IROQUOIS 1779

Showing the route of the expedition as recorded in Quartermaster-Sergeant Moses Sproule's diary and as reconstructed from the contemporary Erskine maps in The New-York Historical Society.

SPROULE'S REGIMENT left Elizabethtown, N.J., on May 17, 1779 and rendezvoused with Sullivan's army at Easton, May 26 – June 18. Sullivan camped at Wyoming, June 23 – July 31, while supplies were brought from Sunbury, and at Tioga, August 11 – 26, until Clinton's brigade joined him.

HE THEN CARRIED fire and sword by way of Fort Reed northward along the shore of Lake Seneca and westward as far as Little Beard's Town, which was destroyed on September 15th. The army returned over the same route (except for Butler's side expedition around Lake Cayuga) to Easton, and then marched across New Jersey to Warwick, N.Y., where Sproule's regiment left the army on November 2, returned to New Jersey, and took up winter quarters at Eyre's Forge on December 17, 1779.

ADIRONDACK
MOUNTAINS
L. George
Ft. Stanwix
Oriskany
Mohawk
River
Saratoga
Johnstown
Amsterdam
Stillwater
Ft. Plain
Canajoharie
Route of Clinton's march
Cherry Valley
Schenectady
L. Otsego
ALBANY
CATSKILL
MOUNTAINS
Van Valkenburgh's Farm
Unadilla
River
Hudson River
Catskill
NEW
Onoquaga
Kingston
Rhinebeck
MASS.
YORK
Poughkeepsie
CONN.
Newburgh
Minisinck
WEST POINT
Warwick
Sterling
Wallen's Tvn.
Sussex Court Ho.
Pompton
Learned's Tvn.
Chowder Camp
Log Gaol
N. J.
Brinker's Mills
Morristown
Chatham
Springfield
Oxford
Eyre's Forge
Elizabeth Town
NEW YORK
Heller's Tvn.
Easton
Johnson's Mills
Scotch Plains
Pittstown
Samptown
Tenbrook's Tvn.
Bound Brook
Lackawanna
Wyoming
Shades of Death
Great Swamp
Delaware
River

were posted some 300 Tories under the command of Colonel John Butler, with Captains Walter Butler and Macdonald as subordinates, and with them upwards of 800 Indians commanded by the famous Mohawk chief, Thayendanegea (Captain Joseph Brant).

Sullivan's artillery, supported by Hand's brigade, was posted on a rise of ground 300 yards in front of the enemy and, when it opened fire, did much to disorganize the Indians by its noise and well-directed shots. The rest of the army charged the works and by a flanking movement so threatened the enemy's rear that he hastily retreated, leaving his dead and his equipment on the field, and all within a few minutes of the beginning of the action. The American army lost eight men and the Indians twelve in the Battle of Newtown but the Indians were so frightened by the results of the fight that they offered no further effective resistance during the campaign.

On September 3d, after burning two nearby towns, the army continued its march of destruction to the north, along the east side of Seneca Lake to the Seneca capital, Kanadesaga, at its foot, and then westward through the Finger Lakes region to Kanaghsaws, at the head of Conesus Lake, which they reached on September 13th.

While the army was delayed by the necessity of bridging a swamp, General Sullivan ordered Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of the Riflemen to take five or six men and, in the night, discover the location of the Indian town which he thought to be just ahead. Boyd very foolishly enlarged his party until it contained twenty-nine and so made it almost inevitable that he would be discovered by the Indians. As it happened, however, he passed in the dark a large force of Indians and Tories under Colonel Butler, which was waiting in a perfectly concealed ambuscade for the advance of Sullivan's army. Boyd made certain observations and sent four men back to report. As it began to grow light, he and the famous frontiersman Timothy Murphy, leaving the others asleep, started to examine the Indian town with more

are, when they surprised four Indians, one of whom Murphy promptly shot and scalped. The others escaped, however, and gave the alarm. Butler immediately thought that Sullivan's entire army was upon him and so his Indians fled in a panic, thus spoiling their carefully planned ambush and probably saving the American army from a repetition of Braddock's defeat.

But before retreating, Butler and his Indians surrounded Boyd and his men who, with their backs to a clump of trees, fought bravely until fifteen of them were shot down. Eight, however, including Timothy Murphy, succeeded, almost miraculously, in making their escape, while Boyd, with his sergeant, Michael Parker, was captured. They were carried by the retreating Indians to Little Beard's Town not far away, and most horribly tortured to death by the infuriated Indians who, by Boyd's sudden arrival in their rear, had been cheated of their expected victory over Sullivan's army. It has been said that there is no record in all our frontier history of any tortures so terrible as those practiced on the brave young scout, Thomas Boyd, and a reading of the details of his unspeakably horrible death amply bears out this assertion.

The following day, September 14th, the expedition moved forward to the Genesee towns, which they destroyed, with their well-built houses and their hundreds of acres of corn, beans, squashes, and other vegetables and fruits. At Little Beard's Town alone they burned 128 houses and between fifteen and twenty thousand bushels of corn. The next day, the work of destruction being complete and their lack of provisions making it necessary for the army to give up the thought of pressing on to Niagara, the order to about-face was given and the homeward march was begun. The main army returned over its original route, several small detachments being sent out, as Sproule records, notably the ones which went around Cayuga Lake, to wipe out what few Indian settlements could be found on the way home. The army arrived at Tioga on September 30th and at Wyoming (present Wilkes-Barré) on October 7th. The expedi-

tion reached Easton on the fifteenth and after a rest of two or three days, the various units marched back whence they came, Moses Sproule and the New Jersey regiments going into winter quarters just outside Morristown, New Jersey, where they experienced the most severe winter on record in this region.

Washington had planned the campaign to take place just at the time when the Indians' crops had reached maturity and it was too late to plant others. The disaster was, therefore, a terrible one for the Iroquois. Forty-one of their villages had been burned and 200,000 bushels of corn destroyed, as well as quantities of other vegetables and thousands of fruit trees. This important result was obtained with the loss of only forty-one American soldiers—one for each village destroyed. Mary Jemison, the famous "White Woman of the Genesee" who was living the life of an Indian among the Senecas and sharing their hardships during this severest of winters, said, in the story of her life as recorded by Seaver, that there was nothing left, not enough to keep a child.

The great Ho-de-no-sau-nee, the Confederacy of the Iroquois, was broken forever. Small British and Indian war parties made sporadic raids along the frontiers to the end of the war but there were no more massacres on a large scale. Driven by starvation to Fort Niagara during the following winter, the coldest on record, the Iroquois suffered greatly and many died of hunger and exposure. It was a bitter blow and a severe handicap to the British to be compelled to feed the Indians instead of the Indians feeding them. Their once-powerful allies had become objects of charity, but in their need the British had almost nothing to give them, for they also felt the pinch of famine as a result of the wise but drastic plan of General Washington, which had been carried out so successfully by General Sullivan.

Though the campaign was highly successful from the military point of view, its greatest importance to our American life came when, after the war was over, Sullivan's soldiers and their friends flocked back to the Genesee Country and became the pioneers of the Military Tract, the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, and the

Holland Purchase. Many rich and fertile farms had been added to the State and now came hundreds of the Revolutionary soldiers and the former Iroquois captives, who already knew the country, to cultivate the rolling hills and fertile valleys and to raise up the cities of Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo. Many a soldier of Sullivan's army won an honorable place on this new frontier. Their graves can be found in the cemeteries of the villages they founded in the seventeen-nineties and eighteen-hundreds, and, in many cases, their descendants are still leaders in the economic and social life of the towns and cities in which the soldiers of Sullivan's army were pioneers.[2]

Moses Sproule (1749–September 23, 1819)[3]

Biographical material regarding Moses Sproule is hard to find but we know that he was a good soldier and a substantial citizen. This "brave and distinguished Revolutionary patriot" was born in 1749, married first, Mary, daughter of William Laird (he died 1771) of Freehold, New Jersey, and on her death married her sister Susanna. After the Revolution he lived at Englishtown, Monmouth County, New Jersey, where he was a member of the Old Tennant Church and, with his first wife, is buried in its churchyard.[4]

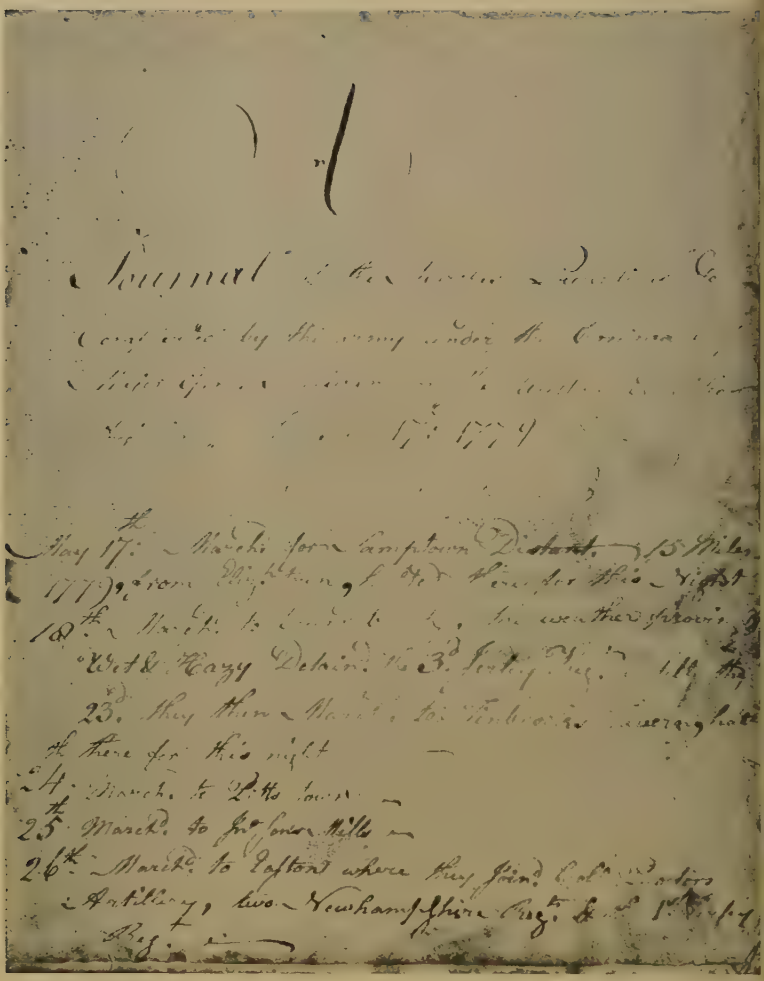
Moses Sproule was a prominent business man in the community where he conducted a general store and was sufficiently prosperous to own a number of slaves. Between 1804 and 1812 he helped draw up inventories of a half-dozen estates in and around Freehold and was the witness of at least one will.[5] He was

[2] For the source of much of this introduction, see R. W. G. Vail's "Bibliographical Note" at the end of his edition of "The Revolutionary Diary of Lieut. Obadiah Gore" in The New York Public Library *Bulletin*, Vol. 33, October 1929, p. 724.

[3] *New York Evening Post*, September 28, 1819, says he died September 22d; *New York Gazette*, October 4, 1819; *Trenton Federalist*, October 4, 1819, contains his obituary, but no copy of this issue can now be located.

[4] Frank R. Symmes, *History of Old Tennant Church* (1904), p. 128. See also note 2.

[5] *New Jersey Archives*, Vols. 39–42, see indices.



PAGE ONE OF SPROULE'S JOURNAL OF THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION, 1779

The New-York Historical Society

Mason and in 1904 Gilbert Applegate still owned the Masonic pron worn by Sproule at a Masonic meeting in Freehold presided over by General George Washington. He died at Englishown at the age of 71 on September 23, 1819.[6]

Sproule served as a soldier in various New Jersey units during he Revolutionary War as follows, his name generally being misspelled *Sprowls* in the records: Private, Third Battalion, First Establishment; private in Captain Patterson's Company, Third Battalion, Second Establishment; Private in the First Regiment; Sergeant in the Third Regiment; Quartermaster Sergeant in the Third Regiment, during the Sullivan Expedition in 1779; Sergeant in the Second Regiment of the New Jersey Line, promoted to Ensign in 1780; Ensign in the same, June 21, 1781; Ensign in the First Regiment and discharged at the close of the war.[7] His obituary notices[8] speak of him as *Captain* and he joined the Society of the Cincinnati on May 24, 1784.[9]

[*Page 1*]

A Journal of the Marches Proceedings &c Compleated by the army under the Command of Major Genl. [John] Sullivan on the Western Expedition begining June ye 17th: 1779

May 17th: 1779 March[d]. from Samptown[1] Distant. 15 Miles from Elizh. town,[2] halted there for this Night

18th. March[d]. to bound brook,[3] the weather proving Wet & Hazy Detain[d]. the 3d. Jersey Regt. untill the 23d. they then March[d]. to Tinbrooks Tavern,[4] halted there for this night.

24th. March[d] to Pitts town[5].

[6] *New Jersey Journal*, October 5, 1819.
[7] W. S. Stryker, *Official Register of New Jersey in the Revolution* (1872), pp. 53 and 107.
[8] See note 2 above.
[9] Symmes, *op.* cit., p. 128.

[1] Samptown, Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, New Jersey.
[2] Elizabethtown, Essex County, New Jersey.
[3] Bound Brook, Bridgewater Township, Somerset County, New Jersey.
[4] Tenbrook's Tavern, near Readington, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, half way between Bound Brook and Pittstown, kept by Lt. Col. John Tenbrook of the Fourth Regiment of Hunterdon County Militia.
[5] Pittstown, Pittsgrove Township, Franklin County, New Jersey.

25th March[d] to Jn°sons Mills.[6]

26th. March[d]. to Easton[7] where they Join[d]. Coll [Thomas] Proctors Artillery, two Newhampshire Reg[t]s. & the 1st. Jersey Reg[t].

[*Page 2*]

26th. Also Join[d]. the Commander in Chief: Immediately on the Arrival of the 3[d]. Reg[t]. a man named Levi Bunn of Colo. [Elias] Dayton's Comp[y]. [Third New Jersey Regiment] being in Liquor drown[d]. himself in Delaware River.

31st. Arrived at Easton the 2[d]. Jersey Reg[t].

June 13th. Three Soldiers of the 11th. Pensulvania Regim[t]. was hung for the Murder of an Inhabitant of this town.[8] the whole of the troops on the ground was present on this Melancholy Occasion.

14th. was fir[d]. a fue de Joy on Account of the Victory Obtain[d]. over the Enemy in South Carolina. the same time was taken, two Men one of whom had formerly been a Lieut[t]. in the Militia & was Confined for Enticeing of a Number of the Artillery to Desert to the Enemy. A Gen[l]. C[t]. Martial whereof Brigad[r]. Gen[l]. [William] Maxwell was presid[t]. found them Guilty & Sentenc[d]. them to suffer Death.[9]

18th. the whole of the Afore Mention[d] Troops Warned by the firing of a Cannon to march together with the Artillery & Pack horses

[*Page 3*]

at 4 oClock in the Morn[g]. on their way to Wyoming[10] & that night Incamp[d]. at Hilliards Tavern.[11] Distant 11 Miles from Easton.

19th. March[d]. to Brinkers Mills[12] Drew provision & proceed[d]. to Larney's tavern[13] or Pokonose Point[14] Distant 13 Miles.

20th. March[d]. to Chouder Camp[15] Distant 5 Miles.

[6] Johnson's Mills on Musconecunk Creek, between Pittstown, New Jersey, and Easton, Pennsylvania.

[7] Easton, Pennsylvania, on the Delaware River across from New Jersey.

[8] Who had refused to sell them more liquor.

[9] See entry for July 1st.

[10] Wyoming, now Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, destroyed by the British and Indians at the Wyoming Massacre, July 3–6, 1778.

[11] Heller's Tavern, now Hellersville, Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

[12] The army marched through Wind Gap to Brinker's Mills, now Saylor's Mills, Saylorsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania.

[13] Learned's Log Tavern, near Tannersville, Monroe County, Pennsylvania, on the road from Stroudsburg to Wyoming, at that time the last house on the frontier.

[14] A point of land in the Pocono Mountains.

[15] Chowder Camp, now Hungry Hill, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. So named by General Sullivan because he was served "trout chowder" on his arrival there.

t March[d]. to Fatigue Camp[16] Distant 18 Miles. on the way thither Pass[d]. thro a Most dismall & Tremendious Swamp which Detach[d]. parties from the several Reg[ts]. had been Obliged to Cut a road Thro. The Swamp being so very bad in Several places Occasion[d]. these severall names being given to them. Hells Kitchen, the Devils Parlour, Damnation Ally, the Shades of Death &c.

1[t]. March[d]. to Sullivan's Camp[17] on the Great Meadows 12 Miles.

to Wyoming[18] Distant 7 Miles the whole Distance 65 Miles Wyoming formerly had been a handsome town Regularly Built and pleasantly Situated on the North Branch of Susquehana here found when the troops were Assembled, the following Reg[ts]. Viz[t]. the 1[st], 2[d], 3[d]. & 4[th] Jersey Reg[t]., 1[st], 2[d] & 3[d] New hampshire Reg[ts]., one New York Reg[t]., the Pensylvania German Regiment the 11 Pensylvania Reg[t]. Capt[n]: Sholts [Captain John Paul Schott] free Corps & Capt[n]. Spaldwins [Simon Spalding's Independent Wyoming] Comp[y]. beside Col[o]. [Thomas] Proctor's Reg[t]. of Artillery with the two 5½ Inch Howitz two 6 Pounders & four 3 pounders Wyoming contains Several Mines of Coal Lead & Coprass.

[*Page 4*]

3[d]. Variety of fish is to be caught in the River and Great Quantity of Game &c in the Highlands. here has been fought Last fall a Battle between Col[o]. [Zebulon] Butler the Com[r]. of this place & [Colonel John]Butler of the Tories & Savages. when the enemy Kill[d]. 400 of the Inhabitants burned the town &c And left 230 Women Widow[d]. [The Wyoming Massacre].

ıly 1[st] was hung one of the Aforemention[d]. Traitors & the other was Repriev[d]. on Acc[t]. of his Age & family[19]

1[st]. Rec[d]. the Agreeable News of Gen[l] Waine[20] having surpriz[d] the Enemy's Garrison at Stony Point on the North River took 600 of the Enemy with all their Baggage & Artilly.

4[th]. Arrived here a fleet Consisting of 134 Boats from Sunbury[21] Loaded with provision on their Arrival they saluted the Garrison with 13 Cannon. the same was Answer'd by the Garrison.

[16] Fatigue Camp, now Burnt Plain or Barren Hill, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, welve miles east of Wilkes-Barré.

[17] Sullivan's Camp on the Great Meadows, later the Bullock Farm, near Wyoming, ow Wilkes-Barré.

[18] Wyoming, now Wilkes-Barré, scene of the Wyoming Massacre, July 3–6, 1778.

[19] See Sproule's entry for June 14th. Michael Rosebury was hung and Laurence Miller reprieved. Both belonged to the New Jersey Brigade.

[20] Mad Anthony Wayne's capture of the British garrison at Stony Point, July 16, 779.

[21] The fleet under Brigadier General Edward Hand, commander of the Third Brigade, and the Second New Jersey Regiment had come up the Susquehanna River rom Sunbury, Pennsylvania, at its junction with the West Branch.

30th. A party of 600 Men was Employd. from 6 oClock in the Morns. till 9 in the Evens. Loads. the boats & pack horses.

31st. at 9 oClock in the Morns. the Army began their March towards Teaoga,[22] the whole of the troops Marchd. and Encampd. at Lackawana[23] Distant 9 Miles the land Excellent and the place pleasantly Situated on flatts Containg 200 Acres.

[*Page 5*]

Augt. the 1st Marchd. at 3 oClock in the Afternoon for Wylootanunk[24] Distant 7 Miles from the above the road for 1½ Miles very good at the Extremity of which is as fine a Cataract or Waterfall as can be conceived. the Water falling near 300 foot from this the Most of the way was very Narrow Defile bordering on the River which Detaind the troops till 10 oClock at Night. the pack horses &c not Arriving till Morns. Several of the packs Consisting of Ammunition & provision was lost on Account of the defile & Darkness of the Night.

2d Lay Still this day for to Collect the Cattle &c which had strayd. During the last Night.

3d Marchd. for Hunkhanunck[25] Distant 12 Miles the roads in Gen[l]. Good but the Mounts of which there were several Exceeds. steep at Midday halted in a fine Valey between two of as Large Mounts as ever I saw before, the Country on the other side the river which we had in view was Exceeds. Steep & Affordd. a fine prospect. then proceedd. to the place above, first Crossing a Creek where there was a Large Rock at the Mouth in the Cavity of which Lived A man & his Wife for two years they having a fine flatts borders. the creek to raise Corn &c on.

[*Page 6*]

4th. Marchd. for Van D. Lyps[26] farm Distant 14 Miles the Country for 1½ Mile Very pleasant. then proceedd up the Most Steep & Dangerous Mount. it running so high to the left that no person Could proceed up it & to the Right so Steep that man & Beast was in danger of falling & Endangering his life or theirs, this defile took a great time in passing,

[22] Tioga Point, at the junction of the Tioga and the East Branch just south of the New York State line.

[23] Lackawanna River, near the present Coxton, Pennsylvania. From the Delaware word "Lechau-Hanneck," Iroquois "Hazirok," meaning the fork of a stream. It flows southeast into the Susquehanna or "winding river."

[24] Quialutemac, meaning "we came unawares upon them." Present town of Wyoanna, on the river, with the steep mountain behind it. Buttermilk Falls there.

[25] Tunkhannock Creek where they camped.

[26] Frederick Vanderlip's abandoned farm. He was a Tory who had joined Butler's rangers.

only one horse was lost. Within 4 Miles of the above Encamp^{t}. we passed thro an Excellent walnut Bottom[27] Some of the trees Measuring 14 foot Thro. & Encamp^{d}. at the above farm the place pleasant & land Excell^{t}. on the side the River.

th. March^{d}. for Wyaloosing[28] Distant 14 Miles pas^{d}. thro Tuscarora a very pleasantly Situated place, where a man[29] got Ill of the fall^{s}. Sickness & died proceed^{d}. from here within 4 Miles of the Above Decend^{s}. a Steep & dangerous Mount then proceed^{d}. thro an Excellent Button wood bottom most of the trees Exceed^{s}. large Some Measuring 14 foot 4 Inches thro, arrived at Wyaloosing here we found Excellent pasture for the Cattle. the place pleasant & Well situated bordering on the River which Abounds with various kinds of fish, here had formerly been a Settlement of the people Call^{d}. Dunkards. Consist^{s}. of 50 houses, which has been Destroy^{d}. by the Savages as well as all the places hitherto Mention^{d}.

[*Page* 7]

A man of the 2^{d} Jersey Reg^{t}. died Suddenly on their Arrival at this place, as was a fifer Drown^{d}.

th. Halted & Drew provision when the allowance of flower was dock^{d}. of ¼ lb.

th. Detain^{d}. on Acct. of rain, the troops on board the Boats was Review^{d}. at noon & the Comm^{d}. Given to Col^{o}. Courtland [Philip Van Cortlandt, commander of the Second New York Regiment] & Major Conway [Lieutenant Colonel John Conway of the Third New Jersey Regiment].

th. March^{d}. for Standstone Bottom[30] Distant 11 Miles the Road in Gen^{l}. was good only one Mount to Decend which was Exceed^{s}. Steep & Detain'd the army some time.

[27] "Black Walnut" is still preserved as the name of a station on the Pennsylvania ailroad at this point.

[28] Wyalusing, site of the Monsey Indian town established in 1754 and of the mous Moravian mission "Friedenshutten," established in 1763 and removed to Ohio 1772. Prior to the Revolution this was the largest white settlement above Wyoming ut was wiped out by the Indian raids of 1777–78. Tuscarora Creek, later Depew's, as named for John Depew, an early settler.

[29] Sergeant Martin Johnson of the Second New Jersey Regiment died suddenly. He was a hard drinker, had marched ten miles in the hot sun and probably died of xhaustion and sun-stroke, though Sproule called his ailment the "falling sickness," hich was epilepsy. One of the cattle guard, left sick at Black Walnut, also died nd a fifer fell overboard and was drowned.

[30] Standing Stone, a famous landmark. A large and long rock had broken away rom the mountain above and, in falling, had landed upright in the shallow water ear the west bank of the river.

9th. March[d]. for Queen Hesthers[31] plains Distant 14 Miles in their way had to pass a Defile 1½ Miles in length bordering on the Verge of the River & 200 foot perpendicular from the top to the River[32] from this 3 Bullocks fell & was Kill[d]. no man hurt. the plains of a Vast Extent and level.

10th Detain'd on Acc[t]. of Rain.

11th March[d]. for Teoga Distant 4 Miles, the Country all the way clear & Excellent. Cross[d]. to the West side of Susquehana Previous to their Crossing Col°. [Thomas] Proctor Landed some of his Artillery on the East Side to cover their Landing fired a few shot in to the wood to scower them if that any of the Enemy should be there. the troops then waded the river up to their Armpitts. then Wading the Teaoga River & Encamp[d]. at Teaoga.[33]

[*Page 8*]

12th. the Commander in Chief gave orders that all the troops off Duty & able should hold themselves in Readiness to march at a Monents warning with what provision they had on hand ready Cook[d]. at 8 oClock in the Evening began the March to Chemung[34] Distant 12 Miles. March[d]. all Night at a Very slow rate.

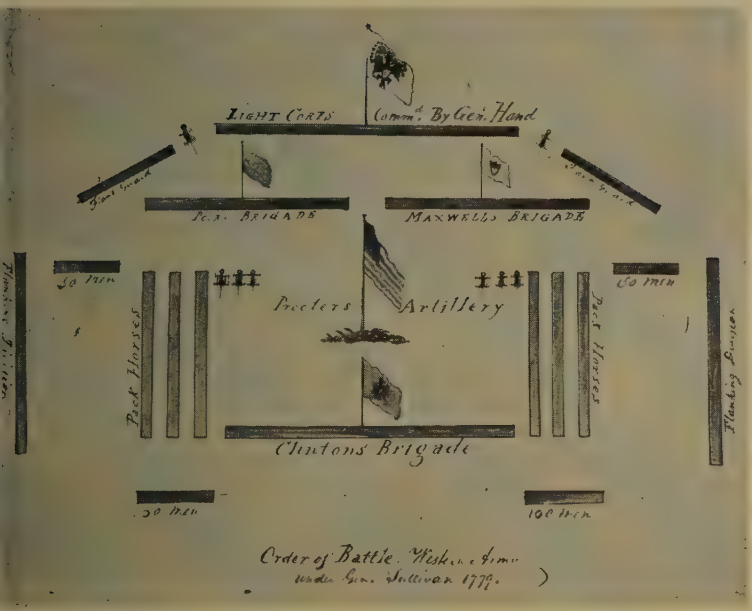
13th. this Morning at Day break the army was 5 Miles from the above place Occasion'd by the crossing of a Defile which was almost Impossible Especially as the night was very Dark. the Morn[g]. proving foggy favour'd their Design. Reach[d]. their Intended place at 6 oClock in the Morn[g]. Found that the Enemy had Abandon[d]. the town in great Confusion they find[g] severals of their Baggage flung away in their flight. found several Colts &c Gen[l]. [Brigadier General Enoch] Poor's [Second] Brigade cross'd the Teaoga & form[d]. on the Opposite side on a large flatts where these Savages Raiz[d]. their Corn &c. Gen[l] [William] Maxwell's [First] Brigade form[d] in the town which was built on a fine

[31] Queen Esther's Town, present Sheshequin, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, across the river from the present Ulster which is on the site of the old Indian village of Sheshequin, destroyed by Colonel Hartley's expedition in 1778. This Indian town was the site of a Moravian mission, removed farther west in 1772. It is most famous as being Queen Esther's town. She was the granddaughter of Madame Montour, daughter of French Margaret, and sister of Catherine Montour, whose town was at the head of Seneca Lake. Queen Esther's son was slain the day before the Battle of Wyoming, which so crazed and infuriated her that she butchered many helpless victims at Wyoming the following day during the massacre. She was the wife of Chief Echobund, the head chief of Sheshequin village.

[32] Breakneck Mountain.

[33] Tioga, now Athens, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, on the peninsula between the Chemung and Susquehanna rivers.

[34] Chemung, important Indian town of fifty or sixty houses three miles above the present town of that name.



ORDER OF BATTLE UNDER GENERAL SULLIVAN, 1779

Watercolor by Ensign Barnardus Swartwout, 2d New York Regiment

Barnardus Swartwout Mss., The New-York Historical Society

Bank the houses large, of which there was 50. Maxwell's brigade set fire to & Destroy[d]. this town, Gen[l]. [Brigadier General Edward] Hands [Third] Brigade March[d]. forwards for two Miles when they were fir[d]. on by a party of the Enemy which lay in Ambush. they Return[d]. the fire so briskly

[*Page 9*]

that they fled with a Horrid Yell, their loss could not be acertain[d], but believ[d]. to be considerable the loss sustain'd by us is 7 Kill[d]. & 9 Wounded.[35] the Army then went to Destroying Corn &c. & at 3 oC[k]. began the March back.

5[th] A Corp[l]. & 4 Men being sent to Collect horses, on their return was fir'd on by a party of the Enemy. who kill[d]. & Scalp[d]. one[36] & wound[d].

[35] Actually six men were killed, and three officers and six men wounded.

[36] Jabez Elliot, son of Henry and Mary (Keigwin) Elliot and brother of Joseph Elliot, who escaped from Queen Esther's massacre of the prisoners on the night following the Battle of Wyoming. He was a young pack-horse driver.

another of the party, tho all possible Means was used to come up with the Enemy they escap[d].

16[th]. A Command of 800 Men was Dispatch[d]. up the West side the Susquehana to Escort Gen[l]. [Brigadier General James] Clinton & his Brigade to head Quarters. Gen[l]. Poor Command[d]. the Detachment.

19[th] this Morn[g]. at 5 oClock arrived 9 Men from Gen[l]. Clinton's Brigade, who bring word that they were 22 Miles from Teaoga when they left them. the whole of this day & the proceed[g]. Night has been one Continued Rain, which Detain[d]. Gen[l]. Clintons Brigade from Join[g]. the army as soon as was Expected.

22[d]. At 12 oClock arrived Brigadier Gen[l]. Clinton & his Brigade with 208 Batteaux. Gen[l]. Poor &c met them 40 Miles up the River they Destroy[d]. one Small Settlement on the Road & arrived this day Greatly fatigu[d]. they Saluted the Garrison with 13 Cannon.

[*Page 10*]

23[d]. a Capt[n]. of the Newhampshire troops was kill[d]. & a Soldier Wounded thro the Neglect of a soldier Snaping his firelock which was loaded, tho unknown to him.[37]

24[th] & 25[th]. were Employ[d]. in Cutting the Tents & Making Sacks of them for the More Convenient carriage of the provision.

26[th]. this day for the most part was Employ[d]. in gett[g]. every thing Ready & in order for March[g]. at 3 oC[k]. began the March to Chenesee[38] & Encamp[d]. 3 Miles from Teaoga. previous to this March had been built 4 Block houses on the Peninsula of the Susquehana & the Teaoga rivers in Which was left Col[o]. Shreeve [Israel Shreve] of the 2[d] Jersey Reg[t]. with 250 Men properly Officer[d]. to Garrison the same all the Spare Baggage Sick & the women were left at this post also 2 Sixp[nd]. [Six-pounders].

ORDER OF MARCH

[*Page 11*]

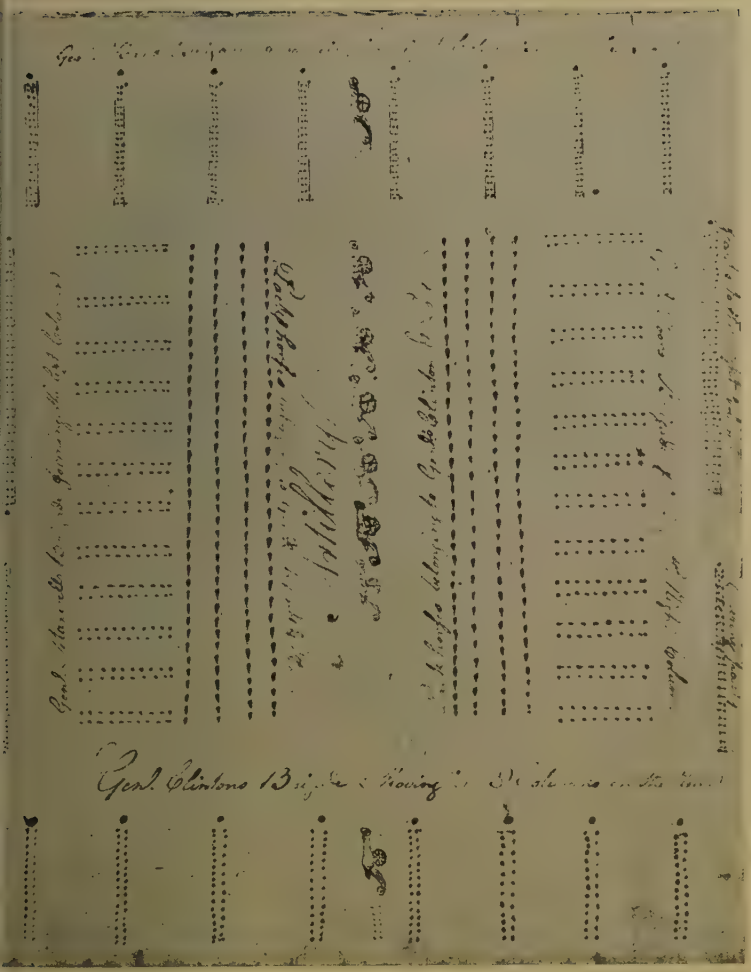
[*Drawing of Order of March reproduced on page opposite*]

[*Page 12*]

27[th] March[d]. the roads being so bad that the Baggage Waggons overset at Different times which Retarded the March. at 12 at Night the troops

[37] Captain Benjamin Kimball, Paymaster of Colonel Joseph Cilley's First New Hampshire Regiment, was killed and a soldier (one account says a Lieutenant) was wounded through the carelessness of Samuel Gordon, a Soldier of the Third New York Regiment.

[38] The Genesee River.



ORDER OF MARCH OF THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION, 1779

Page 11 of Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule's Diary

The New-York Historical Society

came to Chemung plains, within 2 Miles of Chemung[39] where they halted. the Distance 6 Miles.

28th. this Morn^{g}. the troops went to Destroying Corn &c with which this place abounded. at 2 oClock the Army March^{d}. for Chemung,[40] the Army Cross^{d}. the Teaoga twice with great Difficulty, and arrived there by Sunset.

29th. At 8 oClock the March Began for Newtown distant 6 Miles from Chemung. Advance^{d}. for 4 Miles, when the Rifle Corps was attack^{d}. by the Enemy who had built a Breast work, thinking for to Destroy the Army on their Crossing a Defile in front of their works. the left Column Stood to their Arms, whilst the right Column moved forwards, in order to gain the Heighths & if possible to gain their rear & cut off the Retreat. the Cannon began & Shells were Distributed among the tory & Savage Brood that they were obliged to fly, which they did with [such] precipitation that Gen^{l}. Poor had not time to Effect his purpose. the army then formed on a Steep hill close to Newtown. thither Gen^{l}. Poor follow^{d}. them, his men Climbing the

[*Page 13*]

Hill with Charg^{d}. bayonets, regardless of the Enemy's fire which was powr'd on them like Hail.[41] the Enemy at last fled leaving their dead on the Ground to the Amount of 9 Indians, they took two prisoners, one White man & one Negro,[42] the army then Encamp^{d}. as above. the Enemy had Rendezvous^{d}. here for 8 Weeks before, to the Amount of 1500 & was put to the Allowance of 7 Ears of corn pr. day for the last 8 days & no meat. here had been planted Corn &c for the purpose of carrying on their wanton Depredations upon the frontiers 20 of Gen^{l}. Poors Brigade was wounded in Mounting the hill aforesaid. this town[43] is newly built & pleasantly Situated, on the Bank of the Teaoga, with a high Mount to the North & a large flatts on the South side the river where they rais^{d}. Corn &c.

30th. this day was Employ^{d}. in Destroying the corn &c also Send^{g}. the heavy Baggage to Teaoga, consisting of 2 Howitz 5½ Inch, & one 3 Pounder beside the Sick, Wounded & Ammunition Waggons, the Ammunition being loaded on Pack horses. this Even^{g}. the Gen^{l}. finding

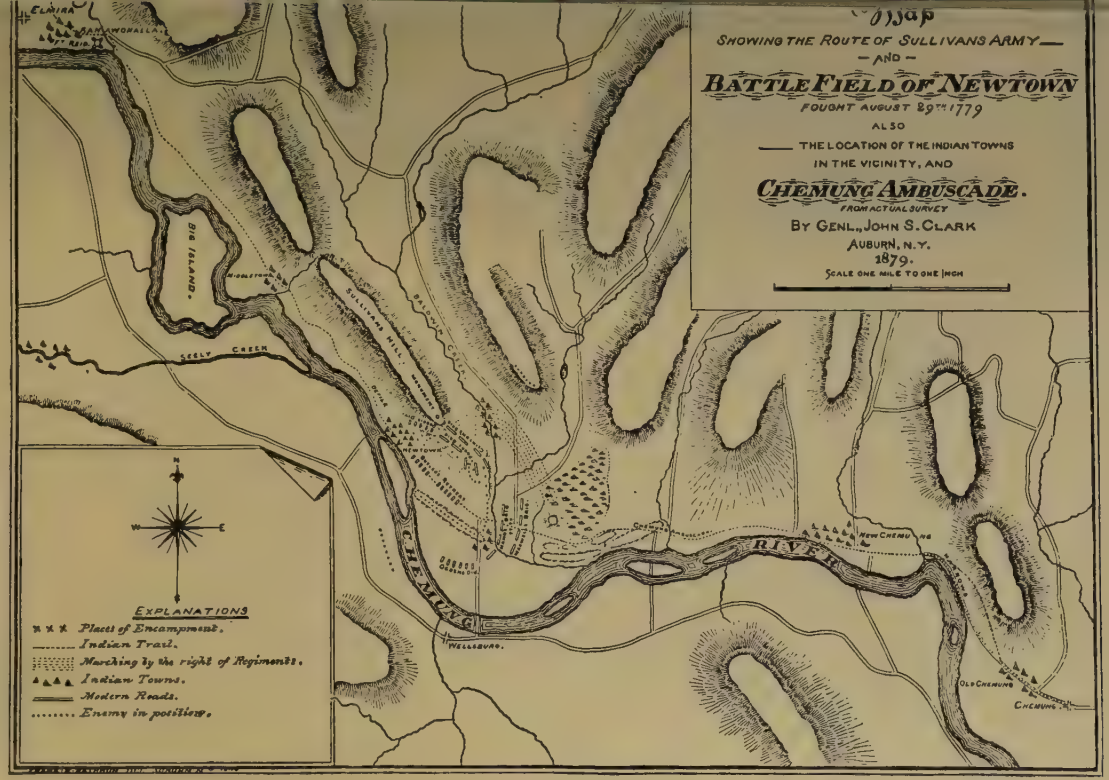
[39] The site of Old Chemung, the Indian town.

[40] New Chemung.

[41] This was the Battle of Newtown, named for the nearby Indian village of twenty houses about five miles below the center of the present city of Elmira, on the north bank of the Chemung.

[42] Really twelve dead. The prisoners were a negro (probably an escaped slave) and "one Hoghtailer" from the Heldberg (probably a Tory). Sullivan lost three killed in action and had thirty-nine wounded, five of whom died.

[43] The Indian village of Newtown.


Map
SHOWING THE ROUTE OF SULLIVANS ARMY
— AND —
BATTLE FIELD OF NEWTOWN
FOUGHT AUGUST 29TH 1779
ALSO
THE LOCATION OF THE INDIAN TOWNS
IN THE VICINITY, AND
CHEMUNG AMBUSCADE.
FROM ACTUAL SURVEY
BY GENL. JOHN S. CLARK
AUBURN, N.Y.
1879.
SCALE ONE MILE TO ONE INCH
ELMIRA
BIG ISLAND
SEELY CREEK
SULLIVANS HILL
NEWTOWN
CHEMUNG
RIVER
NEW CHEMUNG
OLD CHEMUNG
CHEMUNG
WELLSBURG
EXPLANATIONS
Places of Encampment.
Indian Trail.
Marching by the right of Regiments.
Indian Towns.
Modern Roads.
Enemy in position.

that the Provision on hand would not last the Expedition at the Usual Allowance, Intreated of the army for to be content with the half of the Same, to which the whole army Chearfully Acquies[d]. by giving three Huzza's.

[*Page 14*]

31[st]. March[d]. for 10 Miles & Encamp[d]. near the Caiuga Creek. the left Column March[d]. thro & set fire to a Settlement[44] of 8 houses about 2 Miles from Newtown. pass[d]. several Difficult & steep hills cross[d]. the Caiuga Creek, & halted in a town call[d]. Knawaholee,[45] Situated very pleasantly in a Peninsula of the Teaoga & the Caiuga, from here the 3[d]. Jersey Reg[t]. was Dispatch[d]. up the Teaoga[46] for to Destroy what crops of corn they could find, also to look out if the Enemy had or might have been there, as the Gen[l]. had been informed by the Prisoners that the Enemy had Moved all their sick & Wounded up the River in boats. the party proceeded up the River for 8 Miles, Destroying the corn, but could perceive that none of the Enemy had been there since the 29[th] Inst[t]. the army proceeded & Encamp[d]. as above 10 Miles from Newtown. Knawaholee Contain[d]. 20 Houses.

Sep[r]. 1[st]. the army March[d]. from Camp 10 Miles from Newtown, the Roads mostly thro a large swamp Contain[s]. large Quantity's of large Hemlock. the left Column pass[d]. or Cross[d]. a Creek which

[*Page 15*]

Empties into the Seneca lake near 30 times in the course of three Miles. it was dark before the army reach[d]. Catherines town,[47] where they Encamp[d]. Distant 13½ Miles, the roads Extraordinary bad, several packs was lost & two horses had their Necks broke & Several of the horses & men Did not arrive till the next day. this town Contain[d]. 30 houses—but poorly built. a large Orchard is in the above & the Creek formerly mentiond runs thro the same.

2[d]. the Remainder of the army &c came in this Morn[g]. was found an old Squaw of the Caiuga Nation who gave an account of the precipitate flight of the Enemy the army Destroy[d]. the town & corn.

3[d]. March[d]. from Catherines for 12 Miles & Enchamp[d]. the whole of the

[44] Middletown.

[45] Kanawlohalla, "a head on a pole," on the site of the present city of Elmira.

[46] To Runonvea, near Big Flats, which was destroyed.

[47] Catherine's Town, Sheoquaga, an Indian village of thirty or forty houses a little south of the present village of Havana. It was the residence of Catherine Montour and named for her. She was the daughter of French Margaret and granddaughter of Madame Montour. Queen Esther was her sister. The present village of Montour Falls also perpetuates her name.

march having a fine View of the Sennaca Lake, the land being Excellent and fine timber for build[g].[48]

[h]. Continued the March as above for 12 Miles. this land the same as Yesterday & the lake in view the whole way. 4 Miles from last camp pass[d]. an Indian Castle built on the Edge of the lake.[49] on the Shore was found several Indian Colts, as was also at Catherines town.

[*Page 16*]

[h]. March[d]. to Kanadia[50] 5 Miles from the last Camp a very good road, and [on the way there] a large Cataract[51] of 200 Yards fall ½ way between the two Encampments. Kanadia, a Regular well built town Containing 20 Houses with large Orchards &c the town Borders on the lake & very pleasantly situated here came a man[52] who was Captur[d]. by the Enemy last fall at Wyoming here was lost 27 Cattle

[h]. the Most of this day was Employ[d]. in destroying the Corn &c and Collecting the Cattle. towards Evening March[d]. for 4 Miles & Encamp[d]. near the lake.[53]

[h]. March[d]. for Kanadesego[54] 12 Miles from the last the March Continued for 9 Miles along the Lake then Waded the Outlet. Gen[l]. Maxwell's Brigade was Dispatch[d]. thro the woods in order to come upon the back

[48] Here they destroyed the town of Appletree Town, called by the later white ttlers "Peach Orchard."

[49] Condawhaw, on the present site of North Hector, Seneca County, New York. here was one Seneca "long house," built for several families, and several smaller ouses in this Indian village.

[50] Kendaia, or Apple Town, a town of about twenty houses, located about half a ile from the east side of Seneca Lake, adjoining the present town of Romulus. Named for a famous Seneca chief who is buried here.

[51] Taughanick or Taughannock Falls, in the town of Ulysses, near Trumansburgh, n the creek of the same name, a mile west of Cayuga Lake. It is 210 feet high, 47 eet higher than Niagra Falls.

[52] Luke Swetland. He published the story of his captivity among the Senacas in Hartford between 1785–1790. It was enlarged from his manuscript autobiography nd republished by his family at Waterville, New York, in 1875 and again at Scranon, Pennsylvania, in an edition of one hundred copies, in 1915. Yale has the first dition, eight libraries including ours have the second, and about half a dozen libraries ne third. Nearly all of the Sullivan Expedition journals mention the finding of wetland. He was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, June 16, 1729, came to the Vyoming Valley in 1769, served in the Revolution in 1776–78, was captured by the enecas August 25, 1778, and rescued by Sullivan's army. On his disappearance, his amily had returned to Connecticut where he joined them, published his history, eturned to the Wyoming Valley where he died June 30, 1823.

[53] On the shore of Seneca Lake across from Kashong.

[54] Kanadesaga, the capital of the Seneca nation, located on the site of the present New York State Agricultural Experiment Station just outside of the present city of Geneva, New York, near the foot of Seneca Lake. The Seneca town contained sixty well-built houses. A stockade fort was built here in 1756 by Sir William Johnson, he remains of which were burned with the town by Sullivan. "Butler's Buildings," our or five in number, on the lake shore about three miles away, were also burned.

of the town, which they Effected by dark. found the town abandon[d]. The Houses of this town well Built & Regular, a good Orchard & large and an Abundance of Corn. was found here a young Child of 3 Years Old[55] which they had left in their flight.

[*Page 17*]

8[th]. A Detach[t]. of 400 Men was sent to destroy a town call[d]. Gothseunqueaw,[56] situate on the west side the Lake Consist[g]. of 14 Houses. A party of Volunteers under the comm[d]. of Col[o]. [John] Harper [a volunteer without a distinct command] made a forced March to a town situate on the outlet of the Seneca lake Distant 8 Miles— pleasantly Situated. Several ponds which Abounded with fish &c before the town. the name of the town call[d]. Schoyerre[57] containing 18 Houses. The Remaind[r]. of the troops was Employ[d]. in Destroying the Corn &c.

9[th]. March[d]. for 7½ Miles Mostly thro a great Swamp & encamp[d]. in the same.

10[th]. March[d]. for 10 Miles to a town Call[d]. Kanadaque,[58] a town Elegantly built, for such a place, containing of 23 houses, very badly Situated for Water. Cross[d]. one of the Chenesee Lakes coming to the above town. Destroy[d]. a Large Quantity of Corn &c.

11[th]. March[d]. for Hennayaye[59] Distant 13 Miles from the last consisting of 10 houses. Situate on the border of one of the Chenesee lakes, on an

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They included storehouses and a trading post supposed to have been operated by the Tory Butlers who commanded the white troops at the battle of Newtown. This town was a rendezvous for the Indians and Tories during the Revolution and it was from this point that they descended on the frontier settlements, Fort Niagara being too far away to be used as a convenient base of operations.

[55] The child was never identified. He was tenderly cared for, was adopted by Captain Thomas Machin of the artillery and named Thomas Machin. After the campaign he was taken to Kingston, New York, where, some two years later, he died of smallpox.

[56] Gothseungquean or Shenanwaga, an important Seneca town of twenty houses on the west side of Seneca Lake, seven miles south of Geneva on Kershong Creek. On the site of the present summer colony of Kashong.

[57] Skoiyase, the site of the present Waterloo, New York.

[58] Canandaigua ("The chosen spot"), a Seneca town of twenty-three large houses, mostly frame, a mile from the shore of Canandaigua Lake and within the western limits of the present city of Canandaigua. When the army approached, the Senecas hid their women and children on the small island (still called Squaw Island) near the foot of the lake. The traditional place of origin of the Seneca nation is at Bare Hill at the head of this lake. Very early prehistoric remains have been found in the vicinity and a beautiful legend is preserved regarding the origin of the tribe.

[59] Hanneyaye, a Seneca town of twenty houses at the foot of Honeoye Lake, near the present village of that name. Here "the sick, the lame and the lazy" of the army to the number of about 250, and most of the supplies were left, one Indian house being saved and strengthened for use as a blockhouse, which was garrisoned with Captain Cumming and fifty men. The army then went forward with four days' rations for a quick stroke at the principal Seneca towns some twenty-five miles distant on the Genesee River.

Excellent flatts. here was left Capt^n. Cummings [John N. Cumming] of the 2^d Jersey Reg^t. with 50 Effective men, all the provision, Ammunition & heavy Baggage that could be Spar^d. also a Comp^y. of Artill^y. with one field piece for to Guard the Same.

[*Page 18*]

^th. March^d. for Kenaghsaws[00] Distant 11 Miles the road but poor being mostly thro a swamp. the night coming on Obliged the army to Encamp within one Mile of the above.

^th. March^d. for the above town, where the troops were order'd to Cook, the proceeding Night. Lt. Boid[01] of the Rifle Corps was sent to Recon-

[00] Kanaghsaws or Adjutoa, a Seneca town of eighteen houses, a mile north-west of e present Conesus Center, at the head of Conesus Lake. This town was the home the famous warrior, Big Tree, and the curious "Captain Sunfish," an escaped gro slave who held a place of prominence in the Indian community.

[01] Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of Morgan's Riflemen. There was a total of twenty-ne men in the party, including twelve riflemen (the famous scout Timothy Murby was one of those who escaped), six musketmen of the Fourth Pennsylvania giment, eight volunteers, Hanyerry, an Oneida Indian chief who acted as guide, Captain" Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian, and Lieutenant Boyd in command. The nbush took place in what is now the town of Groveland, Livingston County, and re Sullivan's men buried with military honors those who fell.

Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was born in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, in 1757. e and his brothers John and William were all lieutenants in the Revolution. The ter fell at the battle of Brandywine. Thomas enlisted as sergeant in Captain ephen Bayard's company from Derry, Pennsylvania, January, 1776; was transrred to Captain Matthew Smith's company the following November, and in Janu-y, 1778, was made captain-lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Regiment. Soon ter, with other riflemen, he was detached from his regiment and joined that of olonel Butler, and subsequently served under Major Parr, the commanding officer Morgan's Riflemen in the Sullivan expedition. His previous Revolutionary service cluded participation in the Burgoyne campaign and the battle of Monmouth. Henry O'Rielly: *Notices of Sullivan's Campaign,* Rochester, 1842, p. 96–97, 178). rgeant Michael Parker, who was captured and tortured to death with Boyd, ented as a corporal in the First Pennsylvania Regiment from which he was proted to sergeant in Captain Michael Simpson's Company of Morgan's Riflemen.

The bodies of Boyd and Parker, found at Little Beard's Town, near the present llage of Cuylerville, town of Leicester, Livingston County, were buried with ilitary honors under a clump of wild plum trees, at the junction of two small reams later (1841) named Boyd's and Parker's creeks in their honor, which, niting, form Beard's Creek, named for Little Beard, the head chief of the nearby dian town. A marker was dedicated here on September 14, 1929, and the area is ow a State park. In 1841 the remains of Boyd and Parker and their companions ere removed, with great ceremony, to beautiful Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, ew York (see Henry O'Rielly: *Notices of Sullivan's Campaign,* cited above), where ey finally became neglected and were unceremoniously removed to unmarked raves in a less desirable part of the cemetery. It was not until 1903 that public terest was sufficiently aroused to insure the permanent care of the bones of these urteen heroes. At that time the local D.A.R. and S.A.R. had the graves, with those other Revolutionary soldiers, removed to a desirable plot where they were roperly marked and assured the perpetual care they deserved. (Mary Cheney Iwood: *An Episode of the Sullivan Campaign and its Sequel.* Rochester, 1904.)

noitre the Enemy. he had w^h. him an Indian for a guide & 24 Volunteers. his orders being for only 5 or 6, and was to proceed to Chenesee[62] the Capitol of this Country. they lost their course & fell in with the little Seneca Castle,[63] here they Surpriz^d. a party of Indians, two [one] of whom they Kill^d. & Scalp^d. & was on their return to Kenaghsaws when they were Surround^d. by the Enemy, who kill^d. 14 of the party & took Lt. Boid and one private prisoners the rest made their Escape. on hearing of the firing the light corps was Immediately dispatch^d. to their Assistance, but was too late. the Enemy having fled with a great loss on their Side. the Surveyor[64] & a Corporals Guard was also fir'd on by the Enemy who wound^d. the Corp^l. & one private. the army which was this time destroying Corn, was Immediately ordered to march to the Little Senneca Castle Distant 7 Miles & Containd 8 Houses. Kenaghsaws Consists of 25 houses

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& is pleasantly Situated in a large Valley, an Excellent run of Water runing thro the Same. Encamp^d. at the Little Castle.

14^th. March^d. for Chenesee, cross^d. the little Sennaca river and march^d. thro a large Vale, 4 Miles in length, where the Enemy must have seen the whole force. then Cross^d. the Chenesee river & at length reach^d. the town,[65] where they found the fires fresh, & the Bodys of Lt. Boid & the other his fellow sufferer, Mangled in a most Inhuman & Barbarous Manner, having pull^d. their nails out by the root, tied them [to] trees & whip^d. them with prickly ash whilst tied to the trees, threw darts at

[62] Dyunondagageh (A. C. Parker spelling), "where the hill is near," Genesee Castle, or Little Beard's Town, the great village of the Senecas, the western door of the Long House, between the present Cuylerville and the west bank of the Genesee, in the town of Leicester, Livingston County. It was mentioned as early as 1754 as "Chenandanah" (Chenandoanes, according to General John S. Clark). When destroyed by Sullivan it contained 128 houses, mostly large ones, each containing several families, and was surrounded by two hundred acres of cornfields and gardens containing a great variety of vegetables. Between fifteen and twenty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed at this town, some of the ears being twenty-two inches long. One of the ears taken home from one of the Iroquois towns by a soldier of the expedition was used as seed on a Massachusetts farm and became the parent of the evergreen corn which we know today. (See Hedrick's *History of New York State Agriculture*.)

[63] Gathtsegwarohare, a Seneca town of twenty-five houses, seven miles west of Kanaghsaws, on the east side of Canaseraga Creek, about two miles above its confluence with the Genesee River. This town was founded about 1655 by prisoners from the Erie tribes subjugated at that time by the Iroquois.

[64] Captain Benjamin Lodge, with assistants, surveyed the entire route of the expedition. These surveys are preserved among the Robert Erskine-Simeon De Witt Revolutionary War Maps at N.Y.H.S. The wounded chainman, Corporal Calhawn, a volunteer, died the next day.

[65] Genesee Castle, or Little Beard's Town. An even more harrowing account of the tortures of Boyd and Parker is given in O'Rielly, p. 146–147.

them, Stab[d]. them with spears, cut out their tongues cut off their heads & cut out their Tongues &c. this town is very large & well built, containing 128 Houses. the warrior[s] of all the Nations, had been Employ[d]. here all last spring Sowing corn &c. A Woman[66] came here into the army who had been Captur'd by the Savages at Wyoming The whole of the army were in good Spirits at this their last Stage, having not left an Indian Enemy on this Side Niagara.

[th]. the whole of the troops this Morning with the greatest Chearfulness went about destroy[g]. the corn &c at this post[67] which they Effected by one oClock the army then began their March back to Teaoga. Encamp[d]. in the Vale Aforemention'd.

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[th]. After finishing the Destruction of the corn &c at this Post, the army then began the march by crossing the little Senneca & Encamp[d]. at Kenaghsaws. this place was Command[d]. by a negro man Named Capt[n]. Sunfish a bold Enterprizing fellow who had made his Escape with the Enemy.

[th]. Began the March to Hennayaye,[68] where Capt[n]. Cummings & his party were in perfect Security having Erected a fort for their Security, the works consisting of the Keggs & Baggs of flower, of which they made compleat Amb[r]oziers.

[th]. March[d]. to Kenadaqua.[69] was met on the road by an Indian Sachem,

[66] Mrs. Edward Lester. Her husband and one of their children were killed by a rty of Indians November 5, 1778, at which time Mrs. Lester and her baby were ken prisoners. Sullivan's army brought them back to Wyoming. She subsequently came the second wife of Roswell Franklin and was still living in 1839, at the age 98, with her youngest daughter, Mrs. Benedict, near Brockport, New York. Roswell Franklin, Sr. (1740–1792), was born in Woodbury, Connecticut, and died by icide near Aurora, Cayuga County, New York. He served as lieutenant under aptain John Franklin (born at Canaan, Connecticut, 1749, died at Athens, Pennsylania, 1831, probably a relative of Roswell) in the latter's Independent Company of Wyoming Militia, Colonel Dorrance's 24th Connecticut Regiment at Wyoming, 78. His first wife, Jerusha (Hicock) Franklin (1740–1781), assisted in the escape soldiers and families after the battle of Wyoming and was later captured and lled by the Indians. Several descendants have joined the D.A.R. on the stirring cords of this frontiersman and his brave wife. Their home was twice wiped out the Indians and the wife and children all suffered Indian captivity, the former and least one son having died in captivity. After suffering one tragedy and financial saster after another, it is no wonder the father committed suicide. (See D.A.R. ineage Books; and the very rare: "*Historical Sketches of Roswell Franklin and mily*. Drawn up at the Request of Stephen Franklin, by [Rev.] Robert Hubbard. ansville, New York. Printed by A. Stevens. 1839." 103 p., 12mo. NYHS has one of e eight known copies of this rarity.)

[67] Chenandoanes, the Great Genesee Castle, Little Beard's Town.

[68] Honeoye.

[69] Canandaigua.

from the Onieda Nation who brought a Message from that Nation in behalf of the Caiuga also other Dispatches.

19th. March[d]. to Kanadesego.[70] was met on the road by an Express from Teaoga, who brought an Account of Major Lee of the light Dragoons, having surpriz[d]. the Garrison at Powles hook, Dismantled the Enemy's works & Brought the Enemy who Compos[d]. the Garrison off prisoners.

20th. this Morn[g]. a party of 200 Men was Dispatch[d]. to

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Gothseunqueaw,[71] that they might Effect the total destruction of that place & any other place on that Side the lake at 12 oClock a party of 600 Men was dispatch[d]. to Destroy the Caiuga Nation &c another party of 200 Men was Dispatch[d]. with Lt. Col°. [Henry] Dearborne [of the Third New Hampshire Regiment] on the South side the Caiuga Lake, to destroy all they might find on that Side. Col°. V. Schoick[72] with 150 Men was Dispatch[d]. thro the Indian Country to fort Schuyler [formerly Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk] for to forward the baggage of Gen[l]. Clinton's Brigade, to head Q[rs]. the army then march[d] to the Ground the Army Occupied on the 6th. Inst.

21st. March[d]. to the ground Occupied on the 5th. Inst.

22d. March[d]. to the ground Occupied on the 4th. Inst.

23d. March[d]. to Catherines town & encamp[d]. on a meadow beyond the Same.

24th. March[d]. to Knawaholee [73] where they were met with provision &c from Teaoga. here Col°. Shreeve [Israel Shreve] had Establish[d]. a small fort, here during the Absence of the army, for the Convenience of forwarding Corn &c to Teaoga. the army now began to receive their full Rations. they halted here to rest & refresh. Small partys were Continually fetch[s]. corn &c for the Use of the Garr[n]. Col°. Smith [Lieutenant Colonel William S. Smith of Spencer's New Jersey Regiment] & party Join[d]. the army at this post on the 25th. as did L[t]. Col° Dearborne on the 27th.

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Col°. Dearborne[74] destroy[d]. on the Caiuga Houses to the amount of 18 & a town situate on the border of the great Swamp, the town named,

[70] Kanadesaga, Geneva.

[71] Kashong.

[72] Colonel Goose Van Schaick—lovely name, pronounced just as Sproule spelt it—commanded the First New York Continental Battalion during most of the Revolution. He was in command of the Sullivan expedition to lay waste the Onondaga Indian towns in April, 1779, and then remained to guard the Mohawk Valley after General Clinton's army left to join Sullivan. He became a Brigadier General by brevet in 1783 and died July 4, 1789.

[73] Fort Reed. See note 45.

[74] Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn of the Third New Hampshire Regiment.

De Ho Riss Kanadia[75] Containing 25 Houses Well Built & Regular Destroy[d]. a large Quantity of Corn &c.

20[th] I return to this date for to follow Col°. [William] Butler,[76] who Command[d]. the 600 Men Dispatch[d]. from Kanadesega to Destroy the Caiuga Nation. they proceed[d]. along the outlet of the Seneca Lake for 8 Miles & halted at Schoyerre,[77] formerly Destroy[d]. by Col°. Harper.

21[st] Early this morning a party of 200 Men under Comm[d]. of Major [William] Scott,[78] was Dispatch[d]. to destroy the corn &c. the Remainder with Col°. Butler proceeded forward 7 Miles of the road was very bad the land poor & Barren & no water. then enter'd an Excellent swamp which produced very fine timber, the Soil extreme rich & fertile. this Extend[d]. for 4 Miles, when they Reach[d]. the Caiuga Lake. this they cross[d]. ½ Mile wide wading to their breasts, where they halted, wait[g]. for Maj[r]. Scott & party. as soon as they Join[d]. the whole proceed[d]. along the lake side, the land Excellent. the timber Large & country well Water'd, came within one Mile of Caiuga Town,[79] Encamp[d]. 18½ Miles from Schoyere.

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22[d]. March[d]. to Caiuga one Mile Distance the town large & Comodious Consisting of 50 houses Mostly well built they Immediately began to destroy the corn &c, with which this place Abound[d]. the Water very bad & scarce here was found a Quantity of Salt of their own make found also several Musketts, Branded United States.

23[d] the most of this day was taken up in destroying the Scatter'd towns &c within two & three miles all around this town toward 4 oClock march[d]. for another town distant 4 Miles but could learn no name for it. Encamp[d]. for this night.

24[th]. March[d]. for 18 Miles, 12 of which was thro exceeding fine land. before the march, destroy[d]. 1500 Peach trees also a number of Apple & other fruit trees. the above town[80] Contain[d]. 13 houses.

[75] De Ho Riss Kanadai or Coreorgonel, an important Cayuga town three miles from the head of Cayuga Lake, up the Cayuga Inlet opposite Buttermilk Falls in the present city of Ithaca, New York. In 1753 a remnant of the Catawba Indians, another of the Monseys and one of the Tutelos, subjugated by the Iroquois, were removed to this site by the Cayugas.

[76] Colonel William Butler of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, one of the most distinguished officers on the New York-Pennsylvania frontier, who saw active service throughout the Revolution and died at Pittsburgh in 1789. He was sent by Sullivan to lay waste the Indian towns on the east side of Cayuga Lake.

[77] Skoiyase.

[78] Major William Scott (1743–1796) of Cilley's First New Hampshire Regiment had a distinguished record throughout the Revolution.

[79] Goiogouen or Cayuga Castle, the site of the Jesuit mission of St. Joseph in the present town of Springport, Cayuga County, New York. Butler also destroyed the town of Gewauga at the present Union Springs on the lake in Cayuga County.

[80] Chonodote or Peach Tree Town, at the present Aurora on Cayuga Lake. It consisted of fourteen houses, 1500 peach trees, numerous apple trees and several acres of corn.

25th. March[d]. for 10½ Miles, the road very bad, having to Acend & decend the most Steep & Dangerous Mountains then thro Extreme thick & Difficult swamps. pass[d] the end of the Caiuga Lake and halted at De Ho Riss Kanadia, which was burned &c by a former party.

26th. March[d]. for 8½ Miles thro the great or Catherines swamp.

27th. March[d]. for 17 Miles 15 of which was thro the above Swamp. Most of the way they had to march without any path.

28th. March[d]. for 1½ Miles & cross[d]. the Caiuga Creek[81] & came to the ground Occupied by the army on the 31st of August from thence to Knawaholee, where they Join[d]. the Army.[82]

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29th. The whole of the army March[d]. to Chemung flatts where they Encamp[d].

30th March[d]. to Teaoga,[83] where they were saluted by the Garrison with firing of 13 Cannon which was returned by the Park. the army then proceed[d]. to the old Encampment in the Even[g]. Col[o] Shreeve[84] [Israel Shreve] made a feast, to which the Commander in chief & the rest of the Gen[l]. Officers &c was Invited.

Oct[r]. 1st, 2[d] & 3[d]. Nothing Material.

4th. the army march[d]. within 4 Mile of V. D. Lyps[85] farms.

5th. the whole of the Army Embark[d]. on board the Boats Except[g]. a few who Rode the Pack horses.

7th. Arrived at Wyoming & was Saluted by the Garrison the Commander in Chief was the first person who Landed.

8th. A grand Entertainment was made by Col[o]. [Zebulon] Butler the commander of this post, at which was present the Commander in Chief &c.

10th. in the Afternoon the army began the march to Easton, the road being Extraordinary bad. they were obliged to Encamp 4 Miles from Wyoming.

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11th. Continued the march to the Edge of the great swamp.

12th March[d]. thro the Swamp, the road Extreme bad, the Pack horses took a wrong road, the army were Obliged to ly without tents or Covering during a very stormy Night, at Chouder Camp.[86]

[81] The outlet of Cayuga Lake.

[82] Fort Reed at Kanawaholla.

[83] Fort Sullivan at Tioga.

[84] Colonel Israel Shreve of the Second New Jersey Regiment, commandant of Fort Sullivan.

[85] Frederick Vanderlip's farm.

[86] Chowder Camp. See note 15.

13th. March[d]. to Brinker's Mills where the pack horses came up.
14th March[d]. to Hilliards tavern.[87]
15th to Easton.
17th. the Whole Army was Muster'd. A Thanksgiving & a Discourse adapted to the Occasion was delivered by the Rev[d]. Minister of Gen[l]. Poor's Brigade[88] at which was present the Commander in Chief & the whole army at [the] Post.

[*Cover Endorsement*]

[*In another and later hand*:] Journal of Moses Sproule Qr. Mr. Serg[t] Rev[y]. army.
[*In still another and still later hand*:] Charles G. McChesney Trenton N. J.

The Sproule journal ends with the entry for October 17, 1779. The story of the return of his regiment, the Third New Jersey Regiment, to headquarters is recorded in the journal of Sergeant Major George Grant, as follows:[89]

October

27 Crossed Delaware and encamped opposite Easton.[90]
28 Marched to Queensborough Oxford Meeting House.
29 To the Log Goal.

[87] For Brinker's Mills and Hilliard's (Heller's) Tavern, see notes 12 and 11.

[88] Reverend Israel Evans, Chaplain of Brigadier General Enoch Poor's New Hampshire Brigade. From Pennsylvania, graduate of Princeton, preacher at Concord, New Hampshire, from 1789, where he died in 1807, aged sixty. His farewell sermon before Sullivan's army was published in 1779. NYHS has one of the seven recorded copies.

[89] *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779* . . . [Edited by George S. Conover] (Auburn: 1887), p. 114.

[90] Having crossed the Delaware at Easton, Pennsylvania, into New Jersey, the army marched northeast through the western part of the State, passing Oxford, Log Goal, Sussex Court House, and Wallen's Tavern to Warwick over the line in New York State, where the New Jersey troops left the Western Army and turned south to the Sterling Iron Works and over the line back to New Jersey to Pompton, Morristown, Springfield, and Scotch Plains where they remained for six weeks, thence to Chatham and from there to their permanent winter camp at Eyre's Forge, some four miles southwest of Morristown in the Jockey Hollow neighborhood which, together with Washington's Headquarters in Morristown, is now part of the Morristown National Historical Park, maintained by the National Park Service. As suggested by Grant in his entry for November 6th, this was the most severe winter on record in this area and one in which Washington's army suffered intensely, as they had at Valley Forge in the two previous years.

30 To Sussex Court House.
31 To Wallen's Tavern.

November

1 To Warwick.
2 Parted with the Western Army.
3 Marched to Sterling Iron Works and from thence to Pompton.
4 To Morristown.
5 To Springfield.
6 To Scotch Plains and encamped. Remained there in tents for six weeks during the most severe and cold weather.

December

16 Marched for Chatham.
17 To Eyre's Forge and encamped and began to build huts.

REVOLUTIONARY HUT CAMP SUCH AS THE ONE AT EYRE'S FORGE

[Based on excavations and research by the NYHS Field Exploration Committee, though of a British camp in New York, this picture gives an approximate idea of what Sproule's 1779 winter quarters were like]

Painting by John Ward Dunsmore, *c.* 1919

Gift of the artist, 1919

25 Removed into our huts and ended the Campaign.
Here ends the glorious and Noble Campaign, which gave honor to Sullivan, Clinton and Wayne, That they be always crowned with merit, To lead their men on with an undaunted Spirit.

Bibliographical Note

Only a few of the more important sources used in the introduction and otes are listed. A valuable but incomplete bibliography of the campaign / Grenville M. Ingalsbe appears in the New York State Historical Association *Proceedings*, 1906, volume 7, p. 37–70. George S. Conover's invaluable edition of the *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major eneral John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779* (Auurn: 1887), published by New York State in connection with the cenmnial of the campaign, must remain the cornerstone of all studies of this oisode of our history. An excellent brief history of the campaign is A. iffany Norton's *History of Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois* ima: 1879). Much of value appears in Thomas C. Amory's *The Mili-ry Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan* (Boston: 368); in Henry O'Rielly's *Notices of Sullivan's Campaign* (Rochester: 842); and in J. E. Seaver's *Life of Mary Jemison* (New York: 1925), hich gives the Indian point of view. O. J. Harvey's *A History of Vilkes-Barré* (Wilkes-Barré: 1909), vols. 1–2, is of the greatest value. here is also valuable material in the published works of George Vashington and George Clinton. The essay by David Craft in the volume lited by Conover, still remains the most important study of the mpaign. Much use has been made of the introduction and notes in: The Revolutionary Diary of Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr.," edited by .W.G. Vail, reprinted by the New York Public Library, 1929, from ieir *Bulletin* for October 1929. Sincere thanks are due to that library for ie privilege of using this material.

It is probable that Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule was a ompanion in arms and probably a tentmate of Sergeant Major George Grant, also of the Third New Jersey Regiment in the campaign. This ould account for the fact that many of the entries in their diaries are lentical, though each added his own observations and much information ot in the other's diary. Grant's journal was published in the Wyoming *epublican*, July 16, 1834, from the original furnished by Thomas Gordon of Trenton but soon after destroyed. It was reprinted in Hazard's *Register*, vol. XIV, p. 72–76, and again in the *Journals* edited by Conover in 1887, p. 107–114.

A NEW YORK GIRL PLAYS CARDS WITH MR. LINCOLN

LIFE IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, A CENTURY AGO

by KENNETH SCOTT

Professor of Modern Languages, Wagner College, Staten Island

EIGHT LETTERS recently acquired by The New-York Historical Society* give a series of intimate glimpses into the life of Springfield, Illinois, during the years immediately preceding Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency. Through the eyes of a governor's daughter and a visiting niece from New York we gain some unusual insights into gubernatorial hospitality in Springfield, the extensive building-construction in that young capital, the kind and cost of house-furnishings, the effect of the panic of 1857, the extensive travel indulged in, the kinds of books read, such amusements as musicals, tableaux, dancing and card playing, and such surprising cultural institutions as French clubs and ice cream saloons, as well as the various fairs, May Day festivals, and plain or fancy sociability.

The earliest of these letters was written in Springfield, Illinois, on Monday evening, October 2, 1854, by Lydia Matteson to her mother, Mary Fish Matteson,[1] who was at the time visiting in the east. Lydia's father, Joel Matteson,[2] Governor of Illinois

* Presented by Mrs. Medad E. Stone of Staten Island, New York, a niece of the principal correspondent represented.

[1] Mary Fish, born in Lyme, Conn., July 10, 1811, the daughter of Calvin Bacon Fish and Clarissa Sterling Fish, had married in October, 1832, at Watertown, New York, Joel Aldrich Matteson. Their third child, Lydia Olivia Matteson, born January 1, 1837, married John McGinnis, Jr. (See Albert Mack Sterling, *The Sterling Genealogy* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1909), I: 509.)

[2] Joel A. Matteson, the son of Elnathan Matteson, was born in Watertown, New York, in August, 1808, and as a very young man he was for some time a tradesman in Canada, taught school and worked on the farm. In 1831 he went to southern California, where he was foreman in the construction of the first railroad in that State. In 1834 he removed to Joliet, Illinois, and at Government land sales bought large tracts which he presently sold out at high prices. He became a contractor on the Illinois and Michigan canal and operated an extremely profitable woolen mill in

STATE HOUSE, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Woodcut from *Ballou's Pictorial*, November 15, 1856, p. 305

rom 1853 to 1857 and, incidentally, the last Democratic gover-
or of that State until 1893, was a thoroughly gregarious per-
on. Indeed, the major part of Lydia's letter is concerned with
nexpected and unwanted guests whom the Governor insisted
n having at his house.

It seems that at five o'clock in the afternoon Lydia and two
oung friends, having left Peoria early in the morning, arrived
n Springfield on the train from Bloomington. "We girls," wrote

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liet. In 1841 he bought 700 tons of railroad iron at bargain rates from the State of linois, shipped the iron to Detroit and sold it there at a great profit. He served ree terms in the Illinois Senate and was elected governor in 1852, when he moved ith his family to Springfield. In February, 1855, he was defeated by Lyman Trum-ll when he ran for the United States senatorship from Illinois. For many years he as the lessee and president of the Chicago and Alton Railroad. He traveled widely Europe and removed from Springfield to Chicago, where he died on January 31, 73. His wife died in Chicago on March 28, 1894. See Albert Mack Sterling, *op. cit.*, 509, and *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Illinois* (Philadelphia: Galaxy Pub-shing Co., 1875), p. 311.

Lydia, "had anticipated a nice visit to ourselves we intending to sew, read, go out to the Fair grounds, and receive company just as we pleased and enjoy ourselves *all the time*." Instead:

Pa met us at the Depot, and said nothing of anyone at the house but went to the State House, so you can judge of my surprise at finding on my arrival home Mrs. Pitman and a Mrs *Shannahan* (isn't the *name* indicative of something interesting in the Irish line?) of Quincy—Pa had met them at the City Hotel[3] this afternoon and insisted upon their coming right up at once—the ladies came up and afterwards Mr. Pitman and Mr. Shannahan[4] although Pa knows nothing at all of these Shannahans (except perhaps that they are good natured honest Irish people) he would not listen to their going away—so they are quartered upon us during the remainder of the week. I do not wish to complain of this, but you have no idea how disappointed I am. . . . to be sure entertaining them will come more upon Pa than me, but I shall feel a responsibility to which I am unaccustomed, and waiting on tea and coffee for so many I shall sink through the floor—I have wished a dozen times already that you were home. I would not like to have Pa know how badly I feel about it but all my anticipated pleasure for myself and the girls has gone—and the girls feel badly about it too, you know now we are not free to visit by ourselves or do as we please. Mr. Shannahan carries in his face and brogue pure signs of his native land, but Mrs. Shannahan's lips seem to be hermetically sealed generally.

Lydia continued her note the next morning, informing her mother that they had had a serenade the previous night and that Stephen A. Douglas "speaks today." In spite of such events, she closed disconsolately: "I wish I had either remained at Peoria or gone East with you—I am quite discouraged. . . ."

The second letter, written in Springfield on September 28, 1857, by Mary Hedges Hubbard[5] to her sisters in Champion, New York, was the fourth she had written home after going to

[3] One of several hotels in Springfield at the time. It was run by J. Johnson (see *Illinois & Missouri State Directory* 1854–1855, p. 201).

[4] Probably James M. Pitman, a lumber dealer, and William Shanahan, a contractor. See *Williams' Quincy Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror* (C. S. Williams, 1859), pp. 109 and 122.

[5] Mary Hedges Hubbard, born at Champion, New York, on October 24, 1837, was the daughter of Ward Hubbard and Clarissa Sterling (Fish) Hubbard. Ward Hubbard, born at Steuben, New York, on September 26, 1797, was the second son of Nodiah and Eunice (Ward) Hubbard; he was brought to Champion at the age of two by his father, was a prominent farmer, held several town offices and died on October 13, 1890. His wife, Clarissa, the sister of Mrs. Joel A. Matteson, was born at Lyme, Connecticut, on January 21, 1808, and died at Watertown, New York, on

VIEW IN WASHINGTON STREET, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Woodcut from *Ballou's Pictorial*, November 15, 1856, p. 312

linois, probably in August, to visit Joel and Mary Matteson, er uncle and aunt. "I have," she informed her sisters, "been here ng enough to tell you something of how I like the place and eople &c.":

find Springfield very pleasant indeed—We have ridden about consider- ly and I think it very pleasant though none of the towns here have that ean fresh look that eastern villages do. . . . .There is so much building oing on and so much dirt and dust everywhere in the streets. I have met early all of the nice Springfield ladies though but few of the young dies—some of them are out of town and when others called we were not

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ptember 28, 1901. The children of Ward and Clarissa Hubbard, besides Mary, ere Cornelia Hubbard, born July 30, 1833, and died October 3, 1860; twins, Ellen erling Hubbard and Emma Fish Hubbard, who were born on June 20, 1835. Emma ed on October 13, 1858, while the other twin, Ellen, married William Lyle Bones. he daughter of William and Ellen Bones, Mrs. Medad E. Stone, was the donor of ie letters to The New-York Historical Society. Mrs. William Bones died on August , 1873. In addition, Ward and Clarissa Hubbard had two other children, Augustus lubbard, born November 17, 1839, died in June, 1877, and Clara Eunice Hubbard, ho was born on December 13, 1846, and never married. Mary Hedges Hubbard, though said to have been a great beauty, also never married. She died at Water- wn, New York, at the age of 97. See Albert Mack Sterling, *op. cit.*, p. 508. Some f the data given here was supplied to the author by Mrs. Medad E. Stone.

in. The married ladies that I have become acquainted with I find very pleasant indeed. We have a good many very pleasant boarders.[6]

The financial panic of 1857 was upon the country. "There is," wrote Mary, "the greatest excitement here and every where else I suppose—about the failure of so many banks. Scarcely a day passes but we hear of new failures—Uncle has just heard that two of the best banking houses in St. Louis have suspended[7] and they think every bank there will go down. Uncle Matteson has lost nothing as yet and says he will not—He says he has more than a million dollars in circulation now."

Among other items which Mary considered of interest was the fact that a large box of peaches, the most beautiful she had ever seen and almost as large as the largest apples in New York State, had just arrived and was being unpacked, for Mr. Matteson had a box or basket of them sent him every few days. She was reading *Charlotte Brontë*[8] and was delighted with it. On the next day, September 29th, she and Mrs. Matteson were leaving to spend two or three days in seeing the fair in St. Louis.

Mary was evidently a favorite with her aunt and uncle, for a year later, on October 20, 1858, Joel Matteson sent her a warm invitation to visit again in Springfield. He wrote:

Would you like to come out before we get into our new house—if so we will make you just as comfortable as we can either at the Country or the Halet[9] whichever we conclude to stay at. . . . You say if you would like to come out this winter and if so I think you better come when Grand Ma[10] comes. I will make all the arrangements as soon as I hear from you. I am so disappointed that we could not get into our [house] this winter that I do not feel well about it.

Mary Hubbard decided to make the visit to Springfield, very likely arriving there in February, 1859, or possibly somewhat

[6] The Mattesons were staying in a boarding house while their mansion was under construction.

[7] The banking houses of Darley & Barksdale and John J. Anderson & Co. suspended temporarily on the morning of September 28th. See *The New York Herald* September 29, 1857, p. 1.

[8] Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, published in 1857.

[9] Two boarding houses in Springfield.

[10] Doubtless Mary Fish, the mother of Mary (Fish) Matteson.

arlier. Five of the letters which she wrote back home have been reserved and give some idea of the Springfield in the year before Lincoln was nominated as the Republican candidate for resident. The earliest of these letters, dated March 7, 1859, was, aturally enough, concerned in part with the Matteson mansion hich was then in process of construction:[11]

> hey are [*she wrote*] getting along very nicely with the new house—ncle thinks he wont get into it however until November or December—: is going to be a splendid place—They have spared no expense—They ave just given orders for seven bedsteads to cost 200 dollars each—and ie whole furniture will be equally splendid. The conservatory is beautiul. It is made entirely of glass in the form of a dome. . . . Uncle has sent o Paris for his crockery. It is all to be made to order and marked J.A. latteson—He has sent for such quantities of everything—Twenty-five ozen tea plates and everything else in proportion.

During Mary's visit, at least up to the date of the last letter, eptember 22d, she lived with the Mattesons at a boarding house, resumably the Country or the Halet. On July 7th she wrote o her sister Ellen that all the rooms on the first floor were filled, vith which Mr. Matteson was quite contented, since he liked iothing so much as to have a houseful of people. The weather n July was extremely hot, so nearly everyone in the house would pend the afternoons sleeping. Yet, wrote Mary, "this house is o large and so finely ventilated that we manage to keep quite ool."

Despite the fact that the new mansion was not completed, the Mattesons and their niece had a gay social life. Mary Hubbard vrote of a projected trip to Shawnee Town and Cairo in July, isited Joliet, and planned to leave Springfield at six o'clock in

[11] In 1856 Matteson had purchased a large lot on the corner of Fourth and Jackson treets and the construction-cost of the house he built there is given as $150,000, vhile the next most expensive home in Springfield—that of the banker, N. H. Ridgely -cost only $45,000. See J. C. Power, *History of Springfield, Illinois* (Springfield: llinois State Journal Press, 1871), p. 65. Paul M. Angle, *Here I Have Lived* (Springield: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1935), pp. 176–177, indicates that the house vas finished in 1857 but from Mary Hubbard's letters it is clear that it was not inished before late 1859. In 1873, when the house was occupied by R. E. Goodell, oel Matteson's son-in-law, the building caught fire and burned to the ground.

the morning on September 23d, together with her aunt and uncle, to see the fair in St. Louis. "Uncle," she wrote to her mother in Champion, New York, "telegraphed several days ago to the Planters house[12] for rooms—but they said the rooms had all

ELLEN HUBBARD (1835–1873)
Pencilled photograph, *c.* 1859
Courtesy of Mrs. Medad Stone

been taken for a week—so we are going to accept Mr. Brown's[13] invitation and stop at his house—he said his wife had gone east but his servants were there and he would give us the liberty of the house." Mary, however, was none too enthusiastic about the

[12] The Planters' House, whose proprietor was Benjamin Stickney, was on Fourth Street between Chestnut and Pine Streets. See *St. Louis Directory 1860* (St. Louis: R. V. Kennedy & Co., 1860), p. 406.

[13] Egbert B. Brown, with an office at 27 Fourth Street, was the General Agent in St. Louis of the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad, of which Joel Matteson was the president. Mr. Brown's house was located at 315 Chestnut Street. See *St. Louis Directory 1860*, p. 76, and Taylor & Crooks, *Sketch Book of St. Louis* (St. Louis: George Knapp & Co., 1858), p. 151.

t. Louis fair, for she confided in her letter to her mother: "We ıall have a very nice time I expect—almost as nice as we would expect if we stayed quietly at home and kept out of all the dust ıd crowds."

Life in Springfield was by no means dull for the visitor from hampion. Early in March she attended a surprise party in the vening at Mr. Enos's.[14] On May 16th, early in the evening, Mary lubbard and Mary Safford[15] had just started out for a walk when ıey met a Mr. Crisson coming to ask them to go to a concert by troupe whose name Mary had forgotten the next day. "We ent," wrote Mary, "and were highly amused all the evening—he ladies had voices as clear as a cracked bell and the gentlemen ıg equally well. We came home highly disgusted—Mary Saford particularly."

Mary wrote her sister, Cornelia,[16] that they were "going so ıuch all the time" and added, "You ask with whom I go to arties—It is a very impudent question but I suppose I am bound ɔ answer it—I usually have a beau but when I do not I go with ɔme of the boarders or with auntie and uncle if they are invited.")ne of the boarders was a Mr. McGinnis,[17] with whom Mary layed chess. One July evening she went, in company with her

[14] Probably Zimri A. Enos, the son of Pascal P. and Salome (Paddock) Enos, ɔrn in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 29, 1821. Zimri was admitted to the bar ıd was a law partner of James H. Matheny. He was county surveyor and served ıree terms as alderman of Springfield, where on June 10, 1846, he married Agnes). Trotter, by whom he had six children. His elder brother, Pascal P. Enos, Jr., also ved in Springfield and was a member of the House of Representatives in 1854. ascal Enos, Jr., had lost his wife Eliza (Johnson) Enos, on April 15, 1859. See ɔhn Carroll Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* Springfield: Edwin A. Wilson & Co., 1876), p. 289; *Illinois and Missouri State Directory 1854–1855*, p. 20; *Portrait and Biographical Album of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Chicago: Chapman Bros., 1891), p. 248.

[15] Doubtless the daughter of A. B. Safford, cashier of the City Bank in Cairo, linois. See *Cairo Business Mirror and City Directory for 1864-65* (Cairo: Daily)emocrat Job Rooms, 1864), p. 116.

[16] Cornelia Hubbard, born July 30, 1833, died October 3, 1860. See Albert Mack terling, *op. cit.*, I: 508. She married a Lansing, the uncle of Robert Lansing, future ecretary of State.

[17] Mary Hubbard's cousin, Lydia Olivia Matteson, born January 1, 1837, married ohn McGinnis, Jr., and he may have been the McGinnis who played chess with Mary Hubbard.

cousin Lydia, a Mr. Curran and Mr. Goodell,[18] to "the ice cream saloon."

A feature of social life in Springfield which met with Mary's enthusiastic approval was the *soirée française*. She attended her first such meeting on Tuesday evening, May 17th, at the home of Julia Ridgely.[19] She found it "perfectly delightful" and discovered that she could converse in French with much greater ease than she had expected. "They will," commented Mary, "be very improving I think—Talking french seems to do away with all the stiffness—Everyone is perfectly free and easy." On Tuesday, July 5th, she attended a *soirée française* at Mrs. Huntington's,[20] "the last we are to have for the present as Mr. Anglade[21] is going away to spend some time."

In one letter Mary noted that she had gone with her relatives to a May party held at the fair grounds in Springfield. "It was," she wrote, "very much like a picnic except having a queen" and maids of honor. "They led the queen in grand estate to the throne where she was crowned and wreathed with flowers. After the coronation the boys and girls made very fine speeches—at least I expect they were fine—I did not hear them."

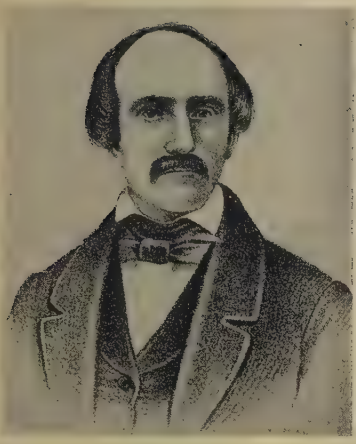
The Mattesons were on good terms with Governor William

[18] Roswell E. Goodell married Governor Matteson's eldest daughter, Mary Jane. He was a merchant of Ottawa in La Salle County and in 1854 was secretary of the Illinois Senate. See Sterling, *op. cit.*, p. 509, and the *Illinois & Missouri State Directory 1854–55*, p. 18.

[19] Julia Ridgely, who later married John H. Rea, was the daughter of Nicholas H. Ridgely, at that time the president of Clark's Exchange Bank of Springfield. Nicholas was born on April 27, 1800, on his father's tobacco plantation near Baltimore, Maryland. He was in the mercantile business in Baltimore until 1828, when he went to St. Louis as clerk in the branch of the United States Bank. In 1835 he was appointed cashier of the State Bank of Illinois and later organized Clark's Exchange Bank and in 1866 the Ridgely National Bank. His home in Springfield, "Cottage Garden," was one of the show places of that town. See John Carroll Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Springfield: Edwin A. Wilson & Co., 1876), pp. 616–617, and Paul Angle, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–177.

[20] Mr. George L. Huntington, who was one of the owners of Huntington and Campbell's planing mill, had one of the best houses in Springfield, constructed at a cost of $15,000. See J. C. Power, *History of Springfield, Illinois*, p. 66, and Paul M. Angle, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 and 191.

[21] Apparently a Frenchman, who, from Mary's comment, would seem to have been the director of the *soirées*.



WILLIAM H. BISSELL (1811–1860)

Governor of Illinois, 1857–60

JOEL A. MATTESON (1808–1873)

Governor of Illinois, 1853–57

Both Matteson and Bissell were native New Yorkers, the former Illinois' last Democratic governor for four decades, the latter its first Republican governor. The reproductions are from *Portrait and Biographical Album of Sangamon County, Illinois* (1891), pp. 146 and 150.

H. Bissell,[22] first Republican Governor of Illinois, who had succeeded Matteson as chief executive two years before. Mary Hubbard soon became acquainted with Governor and Mrs. Bissell and on Friday evening, May 13th, she went to their home with a few other persons to help arrange some tableaux which they intended to have on the following Wednesday. There was dancing and on the way home Mary caught a cold which she feared might prevent her taking part in the tableaux. "Mrs. Bissell," she observed in her letter of May 17th, "is a very pleasant

[22] William Bissell, born on April 25, 1811, in Yates County, New York, for a time practised medicine in Monroe County, Illinois, but later was admitted to the bar and in 1840 was elected as a Democrat to the legislature. He subsequently became prosecuting attorney, was colonel of a regiment in the Mexican War and served two terms in Congress. In 1856 he was, as a Republican, elected Governor of Illinois. Because of exposure while in the Mexican War his legs were affected, so that he could walk only with the aid of crutches. His first wife, a Miss James of Monroe County, had died and his second wife was a daughter of Elias K. Kane, formerly a United States senator from Illinois. Governor Bissell died on March 18, 1860. See *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Illinois*, pp. 320–321.

lady—very pretty and interesting. She goes out but very little as her husband cannot go [being crippled from his Mexican War service] but she seems very fond of company and has entered into the tableaux with a great deal of spirit. They have a very nice place for tableaux."

The Mattesons spent "a very quiet" Fourth of July, with "a very nice dinner but no company except Mr. Curran." In the evening, wrote Mary, "some young gentlemen called for us to go over to Governor Bissell's to a surprise party—It was very pleasant but as they did not succeed in getting music for dancing I played nearly all evening and did not enjoy it as much as I would otherwise have done."

During the latter part of August Mary met another Republican of Springfield. "We went," she wrote on August 28th to her sister Ellen, "to a euchre party at Mrs. Sheldon's[23] a few days since—It was very pleasant—I played at the same table that Mr. Lincoln did—He is the most amusing man I ever saw almost. He kept us laughing all the time."

There was no lack of visitors to the Mattesons, members of their family and friends. One member of the family, however, the Mattesons' son Fred,[24] was in Europe. Mary Hubbard reported that his mother had received a letter from him early in March. He was still in Rome and wrote that he would like to stay six years in Europe instead of four as he thought at first. On May 19th another epistle from Fred reached Mrs. Matteson and Mary Hubbard wrote home to Champion: "He is at Heidelberg now—He says the war is occasioning a great commotion there—In Italy the schools are all closed and he fears they soon will be in Germany."[25]

[23] Mr. O. M. Sheldon had one of the best houses in Springfield, built at a cost of $20,000. See J. C. Power, *History of Springfield, Illinois,* p. 65.

[24] Frederick William Matteson, born in Joliet, Ill., on March 11, 1839, served in the Civil War as major of battalion of Yates Sharp-Shooters, and died of typhoid fever in camp at Corinth, Miss., on August 8, 1862. See Sterling, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

[25] On April 29, 1859, Emperor Franz Josef of Austria declared war on Piedmont and the next day his troops crossed the Ticino, a move followed by a French declaration of war.

In her spare moments in Springfield Mary did some reading, sometimes aloud. She found Bayard Taylor's "Travels in Egypt"[26] very interesting. On the other hand, she did not like very much a new book, "a sort of fairy story," *Alice Learmont*,[27] by the author of *John Halifax*. Other books which she read but on which she made no comment were: *Debit and Credit*, *Married or Single*, *A Romance of a Poor Young Man*, *The Coopers*, and *What Will He Do with It?*[28]

About the end of August news reached the Mattesons that Mrs. Hubbard had given up a plan to visit them in Springfield that fall. Joel Matteson wrote her at once, enclosing a railroad pass, while Mary Hubbard sent a letter to her sister Ellen, expressing the hope that her mother would reconsider and come after all, perhaps accompanied by Mr. Hubbard. Mary added: "We are having peaches and apples now in the greatest abunddance—brought from the south. The peach trees here have been killed. They are going to have such quantities of grapes—and they will be ripe just about the time mother is here if she comes."

Such was the Springfield of 1857 and 1859 as seen through the eyes of the beautiful young lady from New York State. One can only regret that she did not make her extended visit a year later when she doubtless would have had more to say about Mr. Lincoln, almost "the most amusing man I ever saw."

[26] *A Journey to Central Africa*, published in 1854.

[27] Dinah Maria (Mulock) Craik's *A Hero; Bread upon the Waters; Alice Learmont*, published in 1859.

[28] Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *Married or Single* appeared in 1857. A translation by H. J. Macdonald of Octave Feuillet's *The Romance of a Poor Young Man* was published in New York in 1859. Alice B. Haven's *The Coopers; or, Getting under Way* was published in New York in 1858 by D. Appleton and Company. Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel, *What Will He Do with It?*, which had first appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1857–1858, was published in New York by Harper & Bros. in 1859.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Gentleman and the Tiger: The Autobiography of George B. McClellan, Jr. Edited from the original manuscript in the possession of The New-York Historical Society by HAROLD C. SYRETT. (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1956. 375 pages, introduction, index, illus. $6.00)

Reviewed by BAYRD STILL, *Professor of History, New York University.*

Given the size and significance of New York City, it is surprising how little the world knows about the careers of the men who have held its chief executive office. The autobiography of George B. McClellan, now condensed and edited by Harold C. Syrett, sheds welcome light upon the personality and political activities of the man who was mayor from 1904 through 1909.

Undergraduate training at Princeton, the grand tour of Europe, and employment as a newspaper reporter preceded McClellan's entrance into politics as a Tammany "regular." Under "Boss" Richard Croker's auspices he was elected president of the Board of Alderman in 1892; two years later, the McClellan name and its possessor's ambition, party loyalty, and political acumen took him to Congress, where he served five terms before becoming mayor of New York.

According to his own account, McClellan accepted the nomination for mayor as "a matter of public duty." Charles F. Murphy, Croker's successor as boss of Tammany, convinced him that everything he had had in politics he owed to the "organization." Moreover, absence from the City and a good record in Congress made him "of all those mentioned for the office . . . the least objectionable to those who counted."

Once elected, he showed considerable independence of the boss, within the limits of the "party regularity" which he always strongly endorsed; and in his second term, which Murphy hoped to prevent, he broke with the boss completely. As mayor, he obviously tried to be an efficient administrator; and though he professed to have little use for the "so-called reformers," the accomplishments of his administration, in such areas as public improvements and public health reform, appear to have been in the spirit of the municipal progressivism of the time.

Discarded by the City machine at the age of forty-five, and unable to achieve the political offices on the State and national level to which he undoubtedly aspired, McClellan spent most of the remainder of his life teaching at Princeton University and in travel. Always the gentleman, he fraternized throughout his life with people of distinction, both at home and abroad. The diversity between his social acquaintances and his political associates possibly helps to explain the somewhat frustrated personality his autobiography reveals.

The work is replete with an insider's comments on Tammany and its organization and leadership from the 1880s to 1910, on the machinations of State and local politicians, on the events of his mayoral administration, on the details of academic politics and society at Princeton from 1911 to 1930, and on the persons with whom McClellan came in contact, among them, especially, Croker, Murphy, Low, Gaynor, Hearst, and Pulitzer, in New York, and Cleveland, McKinley, Bryan, Roosevelt, and Wilson, on the national scene.

McClellan's association with important events and people and the forthrightness of his views give interest for the general reader and usefulness for the historian to virtually everything he writes. Unfortunately, his memory all too frequently played him tricks (witness the numerous occasions on which the editor had to correct the record); and although his comments on people are often sharply perceptive, the fact that he seems congenitally unable to take a consistently favorable view of anyone is disturbing. If his narrative is to be trusted, the "double cross" was standard procedure on all levels of politics during McClellan's active years, and sharp practice less the exception than the rule not only in party "bosses" but in Presidents as well.

As editor, Professor Syrett has done an admirable job in condensing a long manuscript into a smoothly readable narrative and in detecting and noting many of the errors of fact. The fulfillment of this editorial responsibility undoubtedly prompted his comment that McClellan's "value as an observer lies not in his accuracy but in his opinions"—a conclusion in which this reviewer concurs.

The Livingston Indian Records, 1666–1723. Edited by Lawrence H. Leder. (Gettysburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Association. 1956. 240 pages. $5.00.)

Reviewed by W. N. Fenton, *New York State Museum, Albany, N. Y.*

The discovery and publication by Lawrence H. Leder of the Livingston Indian Records (1666–1723) from papers which are on deposit in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, N. Y., fills a gap in New York Colonial history which opened 176 years ago when the first two volumes of the New York Indian Records vanished in their transfer to Canada during the Revolution. Evidently Robert Livingston (1654–1728) who was secretary for Indian affairs to the Albany Commissioners kept personal memoranda which were later transcribed as minutes; and so, at last, the record is printed for scholars everywhere. The discovery of this material enables scholars to treat adequately Iroquois history for the period that was previously covered only by Peter Wraxall's abridgement of the New York Indian Records, and Cadwallader Colden's famous *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada.* The latter was

a document for the fur trade; the former* was propaganda for Colonel William Johnson's appointment as Indian Superintendent. The three works can now be read together.

The present volume contains an excellent brief outline of Iroquois history by Paul A. W. Wallace; and the Indian records which follow, though difficult enough reading, carry as running footnotes a pictorial history of the Five Nations by Ray Fadden. This bargain package, then, contains material of three different sorts: excellent documentary history, magnificent writing, and nativism. The critical historian should know that the pictorial record is a modern creation employing native symbols, projecting traditional history backward to the founding of the Iroquois League. Nor is it entirely faithful to the ethnological sources: texts in the native languages.

Historians will welcome specific information contained in the Indian records on particular events. For the ethnologist these events contain early horizons for Indian customs, such as the condoling council, which survive to modern times. There are also Indian place names, personal names and offices associated with the beginnings of the League. The holders of these offices were having trouble even then controlling the warriors and the satellite powers that had come under their sovereignty. Two contemporary maps, locating Indian villages of the period on the Mohawk and Susquehanna Rivers, increase our knowledge of political geography and provide useful hints to contemporary archeologists.

The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America 1735–1789. By Brooke Hindle. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture by The University of North Carolina Press, 1956. [xiv] + 410 pages, biblio. note, index, illus. $7.50.)

Reviewed by Fenwick Beekman, M.D.

There was little of the scientific spirit in American life before the Revolution, as England, the Mother Country, was jealous of her knowledge in this field and did not wish the Colonists to rival such scientists and inventors as existed at that time at home.

The author of this well-documented work leads the reader along the path in which the scientific spirit developed, from the colonial period onward to the founding of the nation. The earlier portion of this span of years was that in which scientific thought first appeared. It was Benjamin Franklin who, in 1743, conceived ideas for improving the common stock of knowledge between the colonies. There was in this period some correspondence between individuals residing in the Mother Country and others in the Colonies on questions of natural history. Peter Collison,

* Charles H. McIlwain, ed., Peter Wraxall, *An abridgement of the Indian Affairs . . . from the year 1678 to the year 1751* (Cambridge: 1915).

ohn Pringle, and other Fellows of the Royal Society in London cor-sponded with Cadwallader Colden and other colonists possessing in-uisitive minds on matters to do with botany. As might be expected, a umber of physicians were among these early students of the natural iences. Soon after—before the Colonies went to war—some teaching in otany was undertaken at the newly founded colleges.

The author of this treatise then leads his reader forward, in develop-ent of the scientific spirit, by telling of the founding of learned societies eaded by The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and of the tronomical and other investigations that took place shortly before the evolutionary period. He continues by describing the scientific develop-ents which occurred during the years of the war between the Colonies nd the Mother Country.

The early leaders in the fields of science are then individually men-oned—men such as the botanist John Bartram of Pennsylvania, the tronomer David Rittenhouse of Philadelphia, John Winthrop of oston, the physician and naturalist Cadwallader Colden of New York, nd numerous others who lent their aid to the advancement of scientific udy and education.

The practice of medicine in the Colonies is mentioned and the advance-ent of scientific thought and knowledge through the medium of prac-cing physicians is expanded upon. Chapters are devoted to "Natural istory in the Republic," "Natural Philosophy in the Republic," and The American Revolution and the Pursuit of Science"—chapters which iscuss activities in the field of science during the period from 1775 to 789.

The author is to be congratulated on having provided the reader with a omprehensive work on this important subject. Besides numerous foot-otes of documentary references, there are provided five pages of Bibliographical Notes" and a complete index.

This book covers a field in American scientific history of which little as been written—a field in which more should be known, as our nation today the leader in scientific matters. This well-written work can be rongly recommended to the historian and should be of interest to the eneral reader.

en Franklin's Privateers: A Naval Epic of the American Revolution. By William Bell Clark. (Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, La. 1956. [xi] + 198 pp., biblio., index, illus. $3.75)

Reviewed by Irving S. Olds, *First Vice-President, The New-York Historical Society.*

A chapter of Benjamin Franklin's many-sided activities while Ameri-an Commissioner to the Court of Versailles during the Revolution, with

which the majority of present-day students of American naval history are probably unfamiliar, is graphically told in a new book by William Bell Clark, entitled "Ben Franklin's Privateers—a Naval Epic of the American Revolution."

This interesting and well-written epic has, for a good part, its source material in unpublished manuscripts, held here and abroad, mostly letters written by or to Benjamin Franklin. It deals with the exploits of three privateers, the *Black Prince*, the *Black Princess*, and the *Fearnot*, in their several raiding cruises around the British Isles during the years 1779 and 1780. More than a hundred prizes were audaciously taken by these three small cutters directly off the coast of England. Although owned by French nationals and manned largely by Irish smugglers, with few Americans on board, these privateers sailed under the American flag by virtue of commissions granted in France by Benjamin Franklin.

It would seem that this great American may have been deceived or uninformed as to the true character and purpose of those who sought an American commission for the *Black Prince* in 1779. Franklin's objective, however, in sending out this and the other privateers under American sponsorship was to procure British prisoners to be exchanged for unfortunate American sailors then languishing in English jails. In some degree he was successful.

Mr. Bell has added another authoritative and fascinating volume to his fine earlier works on little-known American maritime affairs.

Elias Boudinot's Journey to Boston in 1809. Edited by Milton Halsey Thomas. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Library, 1955. 112 pages, index, illus. $3.50.)

Reviewed by Bertram K. Little, *Director of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.*

Something there is in this account of a hundred-days journey, drawn by the president of the Continental Congress and sometime director of the United States Mint from his diary notes, for everyone who brings a special interest to it. The social historian will gather impressions of conditions in the worlds of business, politics, education and society. The architectural historian, although disappointed in the absence of detail, will at least learn of the numbers and groupings of houses and public buildings. While the general reader may find the author overly concerned, in a staccato style, with conditions of roads and the peculiarities of preachers of the day, he will be fascinated to meet several of the Founding Fathers and the notables of New England.

To each of these the editor's work adds immeasurably, both by characterizing identification of persons, particular houses and buildings

entioned by Boudinot, and by furnishing clarifying information on the thor's wide-ranging comments. Mr. Thomas is to be thanked also for ranging his notes so that they may be read with the least interruption the flow of text and thought, albeit his practice of running several ferences together sometimes makes it difficult clearly to determine his urces.

ias Hicks, Quaker Liberal. By Bliss Forbush, with a Foreword by Frederick B. Tolles. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. xxii + 355 pages, notes, index, illus. $5.50.)

Reviewed by Opal Thornburg, *Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.*

The reuniting within the past year of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of iends (Orthodox) with the Hicksite Friends, divided since 1828, and e movement toward reuniting other such groups, lends especial interest the only new biography of Elias Hicks in forty-four years.

"No Quaker can write impartially of the Separation in the Society uring 1827 to 1829," says Forbush, and he is a Quaker, obviously sympathetic towards the Hicksite point of view. Yet his rich documentation pports his conclusions and shows Elias Hicks as a true and noble Libal, worthy, as Tolles says in his Foreword, of standing in the same company as Channing and Emerson, as Woolman and Whittier.

Elias Hicks (1748–1830), preacher and abolitionist, was a Long Island rmer and tanner on a small scale, with his share of domestic happiness d tragedy. From the age of 31 to 80 he frequently traveled on religious ssions to Friends from Maine to Virginia, into upper Canada, and west Indiana, covering more than 40,000 miles in a period when the horse as the only aid to locomotion by land.

Throughout his life his central message, in harmony with traditional uaker belief, was that the Inner Light, " that of God in every man," is e final authority and that God continues to reveal himself. In the ing wave of evangelism in all Protestant faiths, which placed highest thority in the Bible, Hicks was the leader of the opposition among uakers. In general the urban Quakers, then in the minority, espoused angelistic ideas and supported a hierarchy of elders seeking to expel om membership all who did not hold what they considered the ortho-x view. The high point of interest in the book is the separation of nerican Friends into the Hicksite and Orthodox branches. Here is citing drama, replete with irony, outrage, pathos, and humor as each le in divided congregations struggled to gain possession of the meeting-use and the minute books, each claiming to be the true representatives traditional Quakerism. The conflict was more than a domestic one, ce evangelical Quaker ministers from England traveled for a decade

among American Friends sowing seeds of dissension and promoting the division.

In this struggle, occupying the last ten years of his life, Hicks showed remarkable forbearance. While he held steadfastly to his views, he took the position that each man must be free to decide for himself where the Truth lies and to follow it. His later years were saddened by the conflicts, but not embittered.

While the author of this biography is careful to define terminology peculiar to Quakers, such as "creaturely activity" and "centering down," sometimes he overlooks an explanation which would be helpful to the general reader. Probably a non-student of Quakerism could make little of the reference (p. 4) to "the enthusiastic Quakers then invading Long Island" and, on the next page, "The Enthusiasm [here capitalized] of the Quaker exhorters." Similarly when in Ohio Yearly Meeting Elias Hicks was called an intruder and "rose to reply but was cut off by the two ministers shaking hands," the non-Friend can hardly be expected to know without being told that this handshaking is the traditional manner of closing a Quaker meeting. Despite such minor omissions this biography is extraordinarily well written and readable.

The conflict in ideas represented by the Hicksites (Liberals) and the Orthodox (Evangelical) is still vitally interesting in these days when the battle for religious and intellectual freedom continues. Elias Hicks still has a message. "As with all important forward-looking religious teachers," says Forbush, "the implications of his words are carried to fuller conclusions by modern Liberals."

So Fell the Angels. By Thomas Graham Belden and Marva Robins Belden. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956. 401 pages, with notes, index, illus. $5.00.)

Reviewed by William Hartman, *Department of History, Brooklyn College.*

How a man's overweening ambition to be President tarnished his career of public service is the major theme of the fascinating group biography, *So Fell the Angels.* Its publication announces the arrival of a talented husband-and-wife writing team, who, in this culmination of a doctoral study, have definitely added a highly readable volume to the seemingly unending file of important Civil War books.

The book's title, inspired by a line from Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII,* suggests the power and evil of the ambition that linked Salmon P. Chase, his daughter Kate, and her husband William Sprague. Chase's insistent ambitions, well known to all students of the Civil War, were constantly fired by his scheming, adulating daughter, who was a power in Washington salons for some two decades. Kate's marriage to a millionaire

Rhode Island textile manufacturer, in order to find a solid financial resource for her father's career, brought into the family William Sprague, whose longing for glory and fame was to carry him through a twisted political career.

The Beldens maintain a highly critical attitude toward Lincoln's Secretary of Treasury, who "comported himself with an inviolable ecclesiastical gravity. . . . He repeated psalms while bathing or dressing; and if he ever did tell a joke, he gave the impression of a cleric trying to be folksy." Their attitude finds large justification in Chase's self-righteousness, inordinate political meddling and conspiring. For many readers the book will also open a new basis for criticism of Chase because of his acceptance of sizeable loans and gifts from Jay Cooke at a time when Cooke had a business connection with the Treasury and was selling its bonds to the public. In addition, when Chase's son-in-law participated in a shameful operation to buy cotton from the Confederacy in violation of Treasury Department rules, Chase failed to investigate suspicious circumstances called to his attention.

Once the Beldens form a critical judgment they make their characterizations sharp—all the way from Chase to his lieutenant Hiram Barney, the Collector of the Port of New York. Chase's life was scarred by tragedies and frustration—marriages broken by the death of successive wives, the bankruptcy of his favorite daughter's marriage to Sprague, and the bitter personal failure of his hopes for the Presidential nomination in 1860, 1864, and 1868. His devoted service to the Negro and judicious influence at the trial of President Johnson, though mentioned in the book, would seem to offer some slight extenuation for the authors' view that Chase was a politician without real principle.

There is little in the person of Kate Sprague to arouse sympathy. Attached to her father by a passion almost abnormal, she never tried to make her own marriage to Sprague a success. Her beauty, charm, and grace were tools in her battle to get Salmon P. Chase into the White House. Her romance with Roscoe Conkling and other apparent infidelities drove her husband to wild outbursts at home and in the United States Senate. In the face of his smashed marriage, William Sprague became pitiful, a far cry from the dashing young Rhode Island governor who led his troops to the defense of Washington in 1861 or from the cold profiteer dabbling in Confederate cotton and treason during the Civil War.

The story of this book's trio is very well worth telling, its narrative is lively, and the portraits of the main characters are clearly etched. The Beldens' application of some of the techniques of historical fiction to their work, makes for absorbing reading, while their careful, extensive scholarship guards against error. Their next book will be looked for with lively anticipation by this reviewer.

Edward D. Morgan, 1811–1883: Merchant in Politics. By JAMES A. RAWLEY. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955: 317 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by PHILIP L. WHITE, *Department of History, University of Texas, and author of:* The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647–1877 *(The New-York Historical Society, 1956).*

It is striking that a man who was the first national chairman of the Republican Party, Civil War Governor of New York, United States Senator and a Presidential aspirant in 1876 should have had no biography until this time. Mr. Rawley attributes this in part to the scarcity of materials and in part to the distinctly unglamorous nature of Edwin D. Morgan's "granite New England character." Both handicaps are repeatedly evident in Mr. Rawley's book. The reader often feels a sense of frustration at the incompleteness of the evidence of Morgan's role in important events. More disturbing still is the awkward, pedestrian quality of the surviving letters from which Morgan's personality had to be reconstructed. One cannot avoid feeling that, exciting as it may have been to plot and execute political strategy with Edwin D. Morgan, he would hardly have been a scintillating dinner companion.

Morgan was already a very successful businessman when he entered New York politics. Reared in comparative poverty in rural New England, this distant relative of the more famous J.P. Morgan began his career in Hartford at the store of his uncle. Before he was thirty he had established himself in New York as a wholesale grocer and an importer of sugar and coffee. He made money also in the complicated financial manipulations leading to the formation of the New York Central Railroad and later in banking, insurance, and utilities (gas and telephone) as well as railways. The bulk of his substantial fortune, however, came from the importation of coffee and sugar.

Aided by his wealth, his reputation in the world of finance, and the ability and energy which had won him success in business, Morgan rose rapidly in politics. He achieved distinction first in 1849 as head of a committee to combat an outbreak of cholera in the City. This helped him win promotion from assistant alderman to State senator. In close alliance with the Whig political machine of Weed and Seward, the new senator became a legislative leader. For his political reliability in that capacity Morgan was rewarded in 1853 with the chairmanship of the Whig State Central Committee. That post was terminated in 1854 when the Whigs moved into the new Republican Party, but Morgan, a leading figure in the negotiation of the merger, was promptly designated State chairman of the new group. Two years later he participated in the formation of a national Republican organization and was chosen chairman of its Executive Committee. His qualifications for this job included not only his

litical experience and reliability but also his wealth and his contacts th the New York financial community. The importance of the latter alification is evidenced by the fact that nearly all of the $45,966.32 pended in the astounding Frémont campaign of 1856 by the fledgling publican National Committee came from New York City. Morgan was chief collection and disbursement agent.

Morgan's valorous party services were rewarded in 1858 by the publican gubernatorial nomination, the gift of Thurlow Weed, who nducted the successful campaign and made all the gubernatorial ap-intments. The author has relatively little to say about Morgan's first rm as governor; the legislature was notoriously corrupt and Weed was complete spoilsman, but Morgan (so says Rawley) remained singularly ee of the taint which attached to his colleagues.

With the approach of the crucial election of 1860, Morgan had his nds full. As Republican National Chairman he reluctantly consented to l in distributing Hinton Rowan Helper's inflammatory *Impending isis* as a campaign document. He worked vainly to secure the esidential nomination for Weed's man, Seward; he declined an offer to Lincoln's running mate, but remained Republican National Chairman ld ran for reëlection as governor of New York. Fortunately, guber-torial candidates in those days were not expected to campaign in rson. Thus Governor Morgan spent a good portion of his time, as in 56, raising and allocating funds for the Republican National Com-ttee.

Reëlected by a comfortable majority, Governor Morgan found the fice considerably more trying than it had been before. He himself felt creasingly the need to conciliate the South in order to avoid civil war, t the New York legislature was dominated by radical Republicans en more determined than Lincoln to make no fundamental concession. fter the fighting began, a conflict arose between Morgan and the legis-ture over control of the mobilization effort, initially a State responsi-lity by virtue of the woeful unpreparedness of the Federal Govern-ent. With an important assist from Lincoln in the form of an Army mmission, Governor Morgan emerged triumphant from battle and in ct was among the most effective of all the Northern governors in aiding e mobilization effort. Rawley claims Morgan put a quarter of a million en in Federal service. At the end of his term, however, Morgan was ppy to allow the radicals to kick him upstairs to the United States nate.

The remainder of Morgan's career was anticlimactic. His Senatorial cord was undistinguished; he supported Lincoln and later Johnson hough, under political pressure from home, he did vote to convict hnson at the impeachment trial. Johnson was sure that Morgan's vote ould have been cast the other way if it had been needed. A more radical

Republican replaced the venerable merchant at the end of his term. In 1872 Morgan again became Republican National Chairman and fund-raiser in the campaign to reëlect Grant whom he aspired to succeed. Passed over for the Presidential nomination in 1876, he ran again for governor of New York, but was defeated. These two embarrassments were soon followed by another: the exposure of incredible corruption in the New York Custom House which was presided over by a close associate. But vindication came. How the old man must have smiled over the vagaries of fate when he declined a Cabinet appointment offered him in 1881 by the same spoilsman, President Chester A. Arthur.

It is unfortunate that the lessons of Morgan's career will not be widely read. In addition to the handicaps of Morgan's personality and the scarcity of records, there are others which hurt the book. Its style is not the most felicitous; it is badly proportioned. The author suffers, too, as do so many biographers, from the tendency to take his subject's point of view. Nevertheless, Mr. Rawley deserves much credit for producing this much-needed biography of a very important man.

Merchants, Farmers & Railroads: Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850–1887. By Lee Benson. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. x+ 310 pages. Illus., maps, index. $5.50.)

Reviewed by Vincent P. Carosso, *Department of History, New York University*.

The purpose of this study is to explain the origins of regulatory railroad legislation in New York and the United States. Growing out of the "Communication Revolution" of the late nineteenth century, the demands for effective legislation to curb railroad abuses were not, Mr. Benson maintains, primarily the result of the economic dissatisfaction and political pressure of middle America. Since rate wars and other forms of railroad discrimination affected the New York mercantile community more adversely and more consistently than other interest-groups, the New York "merchants played the leading role in the campaign to achieve national regulation of railroads" (p. 52). Although the author concedes that almost everyone suffered from the great alterations which took place in transportation before the Interstate Commerce Act, he asserts that after the creation of the New York Cheap Transportation Association in 1873, the New York merchants, with an assist from the Empire State's farmers, largely determined the nature and course of railroad legislation in the United States.

There is no longer much doubt that the thesis depicting the beleaguered Mid-Western farmer as at the mercy of the railroads and other monopolies and as battling the interests almost singlehandedly is an oversimplification. The question here is whether the activities of the New

rk merchants and farmers warrant Mr. Benson's conclusions. On the sis of the evidence supplied, all that can be said is that the author offers ne interesting and provocative ideas, indicates the complexity of the ces and issues involved, and suggests some profitable areas for further quiry. Far more work is necessary before a number of the broader neralizations and their implications can be accepted. Mr. Benson's sis is suggestive, merits attention, but is not conclusive.

It is unfortunate that the author, or his editor, did not take greater ins to make this a more readable book. The over-all quality of the iting is such that it often detracts from uninterrupted concentration on the content.

he Irish in America, by Carl Wittke. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. xi + 319 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by ROBERT ERNST, *Associate Professor of History*, Adelphi College, Garden City, N.Y.

Carl Wittke, an eminent immigration scholar who has portrayed the erman "forty-eighters" in the United States, now depicts the very fferent Irish in the broad strokes and bold colors so becoming them. nphasizing the American scene, he necessarily considers Irish-American fluences upon Erin's struggle for independence.

The Irish in America is essentially a series of related essays. Twenty- lively chapters develop specific aspects of the main theme. These clude deft descriptions of occupations in city and farm life; the Irish in ng, story and sports; Catholicism; politics, Anglophobia and Fenianism; lations with natives—white and Negro—and with other immigrant oups. Two rather sketchy chapters on World War I and the state of ire conclude the volume. Despite a genteel prefatory bow toward the olonial Scotch-Irish, the book concentrates on the period 1820–1920, hen more than four and a half million Irish flowed into the American ainstream.

Unlike most previous writings on Irish immigrants this book is not preccupied with Catholicism or Irish "contributions"to America. Wittke alances the pros and cons; along with a unique Irish wit, sentimentality, enerosity, and political bent, are Irish propensities for whiskey, rioting nd party bossism. The final impression, however, is distinctly favorable. harming vignettes of outstanding individuals show Wittke's warm feelng for his subjects, yet biography is subordinated to a topical theme, as n his treatment of Archbishop Hughes, the radical McGee, Donohue of ne Boston *Pilot*, and Victor Herbert.

Wittke justifiably applies the term "Irish" to the American-born chilren. Important differences developed between parents and offspring, ut both generations had much in common. Both regarded themselves as

defenders of "Americanism," a phenomenon observable today. In appraising the popular caricature of the Irish as ignorant, carefree and boisterous, Wittke alludes to the Irishmen's "mercurial temperament" and "innate conservativism." However, even if one admits a certain Irish volatility, who has not met a dull Irishman, and if the vast majority of Irish were conservative, were they innately so?

The Irish in America is selective and tentative, not definitive. It depends primarily on monographs and secondary accounts, but the direct use of half a dozen Irish newspapers results in a delightful contemporary flavor. As Wittke asserts, this book partly fills a gap in the literature of immigration history, and it deals "objectively, yet sympathetically, with a group whose history is both a colorful and controversial chapter in the total story of American immigration." This reviewer would add that it is the best general treatment we now have of the Irish in the United States.

Bellevue Is My Home. By Salvatore R. Cutolo, M.D., with Arthur and Barbara Gelb. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1956. 317 pages. $4.00.)

Reviewed by Fenwick Beekman, M.D.

This book, *Bellevue Is My Home*, is interesting and informative. The reviewer found it particularly enjoyable reading, for after serving thirty years on the Professional Visiting Staff of the Hospital he knew at first hand the author's deep interest in the affairs of the institution. As the reader will learn, Dr. Cutolo's knowledge concerning Bellevue Hospital, both of its past and present, is surprisingly great, and he presents this in an attractive and easy manner in the form of anecdotes. The book is light reading, for it is written for the layman and not the medical historian. It presents tales of the past, such as that of "the black bottle," which even some of us of recent times have heard patients speak of in fear, and the story of the last moments of the great song writer, Stephen Foster, who died in one of the wards, having been brought to Bellevue from the Bowery by ambulance. More recent events of public interest are told of: the fire which destroyed the steamship *Normandie* in the year 1942 and the catastrophe resulting from an aeroplane ramming the Empire State Building during a fog in the last year of World War II.

But most interesting to the layman should be Dr. Cutolo's detailed account of this great busy City Hospital, staffed by the most intelligent and highly trained doctors and nurses. He takes the reader to the emergency accident room and to the admitting room and shows how the patient enters the hospital and is later taken to a ward, where diagnosis of his illness is made and the disease is treated, remaining there until the day he is discharged. Here we are told about the operating rooms, the obstetrical department, and the blood bank, the bone bank, and the eye bank.

As a large educational institution, Dr. Cutolo explains the organization the hospital wards for the use of students from the well-known New ork schools of medicine. He describes the importance of the internes d residents not only in the care of the sick but also for their training as acticing physicians and surgeons of the future; and he does not neglect mention the importance of the lay staff in this large and efficiently run stitution.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of this informative book is the thor's account concerning the psychiatric department, where both lults and children suffering from mental illness receive excellent care, d the prison wards to which the courts refer criminals for observation to their sanity. And last but not least the reader is told about the orgue, the Bureau of Missing Persons, and the Medical Examiner's Office where crimes are detected.

This is an interesting book that should be read by every civic-minded tizen of this great metropolis.

he New World of Henri Saint-Simon. By FRANK E. MANUEL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. 423 pages, index. $6.00.)

he French Faust: Henri de Saint-Simon. By MATHURIN DONDO. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 230 pages, index. $3.00)

Reviewed by WAYNE ANDREWS, *formerly Curator of Manuscripts at the Society.*

"I must regard myself," said Henri de Saint-Simon, "as one of the unders of the liberty of the United States." In a sense, he was. He ught two months in the American campaign, and was one of the French ficers who witnessed Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. This, however, was only one of his claims to immortality. A cousin of the Saint-imon who occasionally found the court of Louis XIV too common for ords, Henri called for a new religion in which businessmen would play e part of saints. There were businessmen who looked forward to this w role. There were also socialists who found much to admire in Saint-imon's creed; one of these was Karl Marx's partner Friedrich Engels.

Whether the subject would approve of either of these new biographies doubtful. Neither gives Saint-Simon what he conceived to be his rights a direct descendant of Charlemagne. Incidentally, Charlemagne made point of calling on his descendant when he lay in prison during the rench Revolution. "My son," he said, "your success as a philosopher all equal those I obtained as a military and political leader."

Though Saint-Simon was once confined in an insane asylum, it would ot be just to dismiss him as just another eccentric. The man was sane—

but enthusiastic. He pointed out that "insanity is nothing else but an extreme exaltation, and this exaltation is indispensable for the achievement of great things." In an ecstatic moment he admitted that he himself aimed high. "I wanted," he said, "to try to systematize the philosophy of God."

There were times, of course, when he moved on a lower plane. In the French Revolution he gambled in assignats, lavishing his winnings on a mâitre d'hôtel who had once served the Duc de Choiseul. There was also a rumor that he and Talleyrand planned to make a killing smelting the roof of Notre Dame; the deal fell through, but he did put on the market a set of playing cards in which the king, queen, and knave were replaced by revolutionary symbols.

Meantime he was sketching the salvation of mankind. Celestial morality, he felt, should be replaced by terrestrial morality. "The era of positive ideas is beginning. One can no longer give morals any other motive but those of palpable, certain, and present interests. This is the spirit of our age." He had no hesitation in saying that "the momentous moral act was the perception of one's right place in the historical process." And what was the purpose of history? It was "to yield the laws of mankind's development."

In the end he laid down the laws for a "new organic industrial scientific system which would be the *final system.* With its inauguration the cycles would end, and man would enter the Golden Age." He dreamed of an industrialism that would be "anti-revolutionary, anti-egalitarian . . . a society directed by industrial chiefs and bankers for the benefit of the workers. . . .The energy which had previously been wasted upon the exercise of power over men would be channeled in another direction, towards the ever more intensive exploitation of nature."

It is a pathetic story, the life of this man who believed that History was God and God was History. Professor Manuel tells the tale reverently, revealing the flashes of genius which made this madman a prophet in 19th-century France. Professor Dondo, who doesn't pay anything like as much attention to Saint-Simon's thought, makes up for this by giving a good account of the Saint-Simonian movement after the great man's death in 1821. Thierry and Comte had been his secretaries, Berlioz and Liszt were among those who worshipped his memory. But there were also solid men who got entangled in his dreams. One of these was the economist Michel Chevalier, who gave up his job running the coal mines in Le Nord to further the cause. Another was the superb banker Emile Pereire, who raised the five million francs needed for building the railroad from Paris to Saint-Germain.

It was in the Second Empire that much of Saint-Simon's philosophy was put into practice. His epitaph was written in the smoke of the locomotives of the great new railways to which the Emperor gave his blessing.

ncestry and Descendants of Tielman van Vleeck of Niew Amsterdam, with Some Descendants of Benjamin Van Vleck and Marinus Roelofse Van Vleckeren or Van Vlack. By JANE VAN VLECK. (New York: [Obtainable from John H. Van Vleck, 55 Fayerweather St., Cambridge 38, Mass.,] 1955. xv + 466 pages, index, illus., color plate of coat of arms. $7.50.)

Reviewed by ROSALIE FELLOWS BAILEY, *Fellow of The American Society of Genealogists.*

This is a superlative book—editorially, typographically, and as a model historio-genealogical research. The 207 of its pages devoted to "The an Vleck Story" make especially interesting reading. This history pre-nts the members of the family against the background of their time and ace and incidentally, through the example of its excellent documenta-on, gives us a good lesson in what kinds of records are important for search for the different periods and locales. For the 14th, 15th, and 16th nturies, the milieu is the ancient city of Maastricht, in the southern rner of The Netherlands, where we are made acquainted with the onvent of St. Gerlach, the trade guilds, the limited ways of investing ercantile wealth, the struggle for freedom of religious thought, the ll of the city and the flight of its Protestant members. These refugees id scattered over Belgium and Holland and some of them became inter-itional merchants at Bremen and Amsterdam by the time the original im-igrant arrived at New Amsterdam in 1658. From that point the "Story" lls on through 145 equally discerning pages of family history in merica.

Most genealogists go hopelessly astray when dealing with a family's rigin or coat of arms; not so, Miss Van Vleck. The 62 pages of her book hich deal with the family in continental Europe will long constitute a odel for such research. They include an excellently documented study id authentication of the Van Vleck coat of arms.

Unlike most family historians, the author is willing, indeed eager, to t the records speak for themselves, as when she allows the items of an ventory (pp. 52–53) to reveal their own significance in the light of the cial customs of the day. And she uses the records with caution, even otaining a retranslation of an already-published Dutch–New York will p.199) which was revealed thereby to have been incorrectly printed. rue, her generalization (pp. 25, 99, 198) that first sons were customarily amed for paternal grandfathers and second sons for maternal grand-thers, though supported by all instances cited, is shown by this re-iewer's study (published by the National Genealogical Society) to be o sweeping. It would have been more accurate to say merely that the idest children of appropriate sexes were usually named for the four randparents. But the author generally limits her interpretations to sum-

mation of a person's character or to a modestly expressed discussion of the relative merits of various hypotheses.

The second half of the book is genealogy proper. It stresses dates and proof thereof with exact citations, limiting brief biographical items to those individuals not covered in the "Story" part. Unfortunately the numbering system is an innovation and not a good one; thus the average genealogy reader will be confused that number 79 is followed by number 710, and that number 81 is in a different chapter. Despite the clearly expressed "How to Use This Genealogy" preface, not many will find it easy to trace a line backward or forward by means of this "simplified" numbering system, but those who have the patience to do so will be rewarded by the accuracy of the data when they find it.

The volume is attractive, carefully edited, and an excellent example of good bookmanship. Printed by The William Byrd Press of Richmond, Va., it was one of the books selected by the judges of the 1955 Southern Books Competition for its typographical appearance and arrangement. We are glad that the author lived long enough to see an advance copy, for such a superlative book is a fitting culmination to a lifetime of research.

The DePeyster Genealogy. By Waldron Phoenix Belknap, jr. (Boston: Privately Printed [by Harvard University Press], 1956. xviii + 108 pages + 30 portrait repros. $7.50.)

Reviewed by Brig. Gen. John Ross Delafield, *author of* Delafield: The Family History *(1945), 2 vols.*

The DePeyster Genealogy by Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., is not and is not intended to be a family history. It should, therefore, be considered as a genealogical reference work. This indeed it is, and an excellent one. In such a work much depends on the background and knowledge of the family, the subject of the work, possessed by the compiler. Fortunately Mr. Belknap had such knowledge of the DePeyster family. Despite his untimely death before the work was finished, its plan and most of its detail, carefully supported by reference to authorities, are his. Certain gaps in his unfinished manuscripts were filled, a number of unsettled questions resolved, and many statements of fact or conjecture checked and documented, by the editors, whose conclusions in many cases were based on the study of original sources.

In such editing especial credit belongs to Miss Helen Burr Smith who, as the first of several editors, not only arranged the deceased author's manuscript and put it in order, but also made valuable additions and corrections. It is to be regretted that this genealogy was not brought down to current date and that so valuable and well-documented a genealogy should lack an index, for many important persons, not of the name, are mentioned in it.

In the reviewer's opinion, a good family history of this grand old

ePeyster family, giving personal as well as genealogical information, ould be of value and interest. In it there would be room to tell of the tivities of each member. To these could be added the facts and tradions that have come down in the family and amongst their friends, and any of which will be lost with the passing years.

he New York State Library. Checklist of Books and Pamphlets in the Social Sciences Including Anthropology, Economics, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Welfare, but Not Including Education, History and Law. (Albany: The New York State Library, 1956. v, [2], 142 pages, double column, folio. Apply.)

This title-a-line checklist of over 40,000 titles (with class marks) is the rst of a series of volumes which will eventually record the two million tles in the New York State Library. Additional classifications, supplements and complete revisions will be issued from time to time. Periodicals, ewspapers, other types of serials and uncatalogued government publicaons are not listed since they are recorded in other published bibliographies.

It is published in order to make the rich resources of America's greatest tate Library readily available to the public and institutional libraries of ne State. Since most of the titles are available through inter-library loan, his list will vastly increase the reference resources of the libraries of the tate and save much duplication in the smaller libraries, thus saving their ften-meagre book funds.

This huge undertaking is a great credit to Dr. Charles F. Gosnell, State ibrarian, and his busy and capable staff. No other great library of the ountry has had the hardihood to attempt a complete checklist of its oldings in recent years. Its publication will be of great importance, not nly to the libraries of the State, but also to the other libraries of the ountry fortunate enough to secure a set of these useful volumes.

R. W. G. Vail

iovernor Tryon and His Palace. By Alonzo Thomas Dill. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. ix + 304 pages, index, illus. $5.00.)

Modestly entitled *Governor Tryon and His Palace*, this book is in eality a comprehensive sketch of North Carolina in the eighteenth cenury. The author has taken the trouble to make a most readable narrative ut of a mass of information ranging from the colony's exports to the ounding of New Bern. Though he gives a detailed account of the buildng of Tryon's palace, the most interesting section of all deals with the Regulators. The governor had to cope with something like hysteria on he frontier.

Wayne Andrews

RECENT ACCESSIONS

GIFTS

LETTER of Joseph Morse relating to French and Indian attack on Oswego, N.Y., dated Albany, March 16, 1756. *Gift of Mrs. Chase Andrews.*

Sketchbook of Thomas P. Rossiter (1817–1871), grandfather of the donor; collection of sketches by Kensett, Cole, Darley, Nast, and others. *Gift of Mrs. William F. Bevan.*

Civil War diary of a Union soldier imprisoned by the Confederate Army, October 1863–December 1864; 14 books and pamphlets; 7 manuscripts, including marriage and school certificates; 35 family photographs; collection of 19th-century household equipment. *Gift of Mrs. Edith D. Blaisdell.*

Wooden locomotive and car, late 19th century. *Gift of Miss Ann P. Browne.*

Holy Bible in Dutch (Amsterdam: 1661). Presented to the City of New York by Nicholas van der Mey of Katwijk, Holland. *Gift of the City of New York.*

Card index of names of prominent Danes in America, compiled by the donor's late husband, Baron Joost Dahlerup. *Gift of Baroness Alma Dahlerup.*

Four hand-colored engravings, by M. Dubourg after J. Milbert, of Camp Meetings in America; fifteen other prints. *Gift of Mr. Chester Dale.*

Portfolio of sketches and prints of J. Carroll Beckwith (1852–1917). *Gift of Mrs. Chester Dale.*

"View of New York Harbor," oil painting by unidentified artist. *Gift of Professor Ferdinand H. Davis.*

Bill of sale from Benjamin Bille of Richmond County, N.Y., dated August 26, 1720. *Gift of Mr. William Flint.*

Group photograph of guests, 6th Annual Dinner, National Civic Federation, Hotel Astor, New York City, December 15, 1908. *Gift of Mrs. Walter A. Haas.*

Four fine impressions of the engravings by R. and D. Havell, London, of the battle between the *Java* and the *Constitution*, December 29, 1812 (published in London: 1814); 238 books of United States history and biography. *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esquire.*

New England powder horn, 19th century. *Gift of Mr. John V. Irwin.*

Indenture between Stephen Bayard of Bergen County, N.J., and Nicholas and Samuel Bayard of New York City for land in Bergen County, dated November 20, 1751. *Gift of Miss Adelaide E. Jones.*

Bandage roller 19th century. *Gift of Mrs. Kathryn W. Kelly.*

Cigar-store Indian, possibly representing Chief Black Hawk, 19th century. *Gift of Mr. Carl Otto von Kienbusch and the Abbott-Lenox Fund.*

Memorabilia of Major James B. Horner, of the Hawkins Zouaves; copy of the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, May 20, 1801. *Gift of Mrs. George H. Kuper.*

Scrapbooks, ten diplomas (1865–1908), and other material relating to William Neilson McVickar, Bishop of Rhode Island. *Gift of Mr. William Neilson McVickar.*

Carte-de-visite photographs of Mr. and Mrs. John James Audubon, from original negatives in the donor's collection. *Gift of Dr. Frederick Hill Meserve.*

Violin once owned by the famed Norwegian violinist Ole Bull (1810–1880), who gave it to Allen Dodworth of the Dodworth Dancing Academy in New York City. *Gift of Mrs. Alma Dodworth Milliken.*

Noah's Ark with over 300 carved and painted animals. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Bronze bust by J.Q.A. Ward of Roscoe Conkling (1829–1888), United States Senator from New York, 1859–1867, and grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mr. Walter Oakman.*

The First Winchester: The Story of the 1866 Repeating Rifle, by John E. Parsons. (New York: 1955). *Gift of the author.*

Mahogany slant-lid desk made by Job Townsend, Newport, R. I., 1760–70. *Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis.*

Marble bust by Ames Van Wart of Mary Bosworth Saxe, and eight oil portraits of John Godfrey Saxe (1816–1887), Vermont poet, and members of his family. *Gift ofMrs. John Godfrey Saxe.*

The Williamsburgh Daily Gazette (Williamsburgh, L. I.), October 5, 1853–May 30, 1854. *Gift of Mr. John H. Schleif.*

Dress sword and diplomatic uniform worn by Col. Montgomery Schuyler (1877–1955), as Councillor of Embassy at St. Petersburg, Russia, 1907–09. *Gift of Mrs. Montgomery Schuyler.*

Compend of the United States System of Infantry Exercise and Manoeuvres, by C. K. Gardner (New York: 1819); *Plattsburgh-Herald*, Extra, February 25, 1815, reprinting Treaty of Ghent; banknote for fifty cents issued by Lyons [N.Y.] Bank, July 15, 1862; four 19th-century Army commissions. *Gift of Mrs. Carl D. Smith.*

Bibliography of Texas, by Thomas W. Streeter (Vols. I and II of Part I) (Cambridge, Mass.: 1955). *Gift of the author.*

American travel journal, 1794–95, of William Strickland of Boynton, Yorkshire, England; two watercolor landscapes done in America by William Strickland. *Gift of Rev. J. E. Strickland, great-great-grandson of the author-artist.*

"The Violinist–Carnegie Hall," oil portrait by Calla Lukes, 1955. *Gift of Mrs. W. D. Virtue.*

Exotics: Attempts to Domesticate Them, by J. F. C. [James Freeman Clarke] and L. C. (Boston: 1875), presentation copy from the author. *Gift of Mr. Oscar Wegelin.*

The Leonidas Westervelt Circus Collection, including 442 books, pamphlets, and periodicals relating to the circus, Tom Thumb, and P. T. Barnum. *Gift of Mrs. Leonidas Westervelt.*

Homeopathic family medicine kit used by Rev. and Mrs. John R. Wright of Jersey City, parents of the donor. *Gift of Miss Helen M. Wright.*

PURCHASES FOR THE LIBRARY

Album of 391 photographs of New York City streets, 1911–13.

Atlas Geographus; or A Compleat System of Geography (Ancient and Modern) for America (Savoy: 1717).

Certificate for stock in the Castorland Company, Montgomery County, N.Y., April 12, 1793.

A Choice Collection of Songs, Duetts and Catches, compiled by E. E. Ellis (Albany: 1814).

Church Warden's accounts for 1710–1738 (New York City).

The Churches Quarrel Espoused, by John Wise (Boston: 1715).

The Corrector (Sag Harbor, L.I.), August 31, 1833–November 4, 1835.

"New York Ice Company. Cutting Ice at Athens [N.Y.]," lithograph of J. W. Hill, published by Endicott & Co., New York: 1847.

Printed order for seizure of British merchandise, signed by Albert Gallatin, August 26, 1812.

Scraps from the Prison Table at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island, by Joel Barbiere [Lt. Col., C.S.A.] (Doylestown, Pa.: 1868).

Treasurer's Accounts of Expenditures of the City of New York, 1783–1805.

The Universal Traveller, by Charles A. Goodrich (New York: 1838).

BEEKMAN VOLUMES PUBLISHED

ON October 26, 1956, the Society published *The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647–1877* by Philip L. White with an Introduction by Dr. Fenwick Beekman (xxxi, 705 pp., 57 illus.) in an edition limited to 500 numbered copies at $10.00 per copy, and *The Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746–1799* edited by Philip L. White (1485 pp. in three vols.) at $25.00 per set. When both titles are purchased, a 20% discount from the combined list price of $35.00 is allowed, making the price for all four volumes $28.00. These books will be reviewed in a subsequent issue of the *Quarterly*.

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BOOKS FOR SALE BY

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% DISCOUNT TO MEMBERS AND LIBRARIANS ON ORDERS OF $5.00 OR MORE)

liam Smith, *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its iscovery to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762* (1830). 2 vols. talling 780 pp., $15.00.

mas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War, and the eading Events in the Other Colonies at That Period* (1879). 2 vols. total-ng 1555 pp., illus., index, $15.00.

xander J. Wall, *A Sketch of the Life of Horatio Seymour 1810–1886, with Detailed Account of His Administration as Governor of the State of New ork during the War of 1861–1865* (1929). 111 pp., 25 illus., $2.00.

t Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726–1776* 1938). xviii+450 pp., index, $3.00.

ie, *1777–1799* (1954). xix+484 pp., illus., index, $4.00.

othy C. Barck, ed., *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter, Eliza Noel intard Davidson, 1816–1833* (1904–41). 4 vols. totalling 1386 pp., illus., dex, $12.00.

nald A. Shelley, *Catalogue of American Portraits in The New-York listorical Society* (1941). viii+374 pp., 430 illus., indexes, $1.50.

liam Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt, 1734–1805: A Study of His Work* (1942). +103 pp., 43 plates, index, $5.00.

cy Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 826–1860* (1943). 2 vols. totalling 680 pp., index, $6.00.

ian B. Wall, *Entre Nous: An Intimate Portrait of Alexander J. Wall* (1949). ii+267 pp., illus., index, $3.00.

old E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780–1840, With Checklist of His Works* (1949). xx+476 pp., 105 illus., index, $10.00.

ver & Bolton, *History Written with Pick and Shovel: Military Buttons, elt-Plates, Badges, and Other Relics Excavated from Colonial, Revolu-onary, and War of 1812 Camp Sites by the Field Exploration Committee f The New-York Historical Society* (1950). xiv+320 pp., 218 illus., index, 3.50.

cy Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Inion 1816–1852*, with a history of the Academy by Theodore Sizer, of ie Art-Union by Charles E. Baker, and a Foreword by James Thomas lexner (1953). I: *Introduction*, xiv + 311 pp., illus.; II: *Exhibition Record*, 04 pp., frontis., index; 2 vols., $7.50.

V.G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of The lew-York Historical Society 1804–1954* (1954). xix+547 pp., 180 illus., idex, $6.00.

eodore Bolton and Irwin F. Cortelyou, *Ezra Ames of Albany: Portrait ainter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker, 1768–1836; And a Cata-gue of His Works* (1955). xx+398 pp., 120 illus., index, $4.95.

TE: Upon request, a complete catalogue of the Society's publications, with prices or those still in print, will be provided.